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THE EARLY YEARS

OF

JOHN CALVIN

A FRAGMENT

1509–1536

BY THE

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THE EARLY YEARS

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JOHN CALVIN.

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No apology is necessary for offering the public this fragment. So far as it goes, it is complete; and with its three hundred notes and references to more than sixty authors, it is a valuable literary treasure. The editing of it, greatly aided by the kind assistance of Professor W. Robertson Smith, Professor James Candlish, D.D., John Taylor Brown, Esq., and others, if a somewhat laborious and anxious undertaking, has been a labour of love and of reverent affection. The universal regret will be that the author did not live to complete it. It is published as a tribute of respect, and will be a lasting monument of the painstaking, laborious care, as well as of the clear and incisive style, of the writer.

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CHAPTER I.

BIRTH TO CLOSE OF SECULAR STUDIES, 1509-1532.

JOHN CALVIN was born at Noyon, a city of Picardy in France, on the 10th of July 1509, and was baptized in the Church of St. Godaberte in the course of that month. He was the second son of Gerard Chauvin or Cauvin and of Joanna Franc. His father was a native of Pont l'Évêque, a village situated within a quarter of a league of Noyon, to which place he removed at an early period of his life.[1]

CHAP. I. 1509.

At that period there was no middle class in France; all who could not trace their descent from an ancient family, or who had not been ennobled in consequence of some rare feat in arms, were classed promiscuously among the people. If we may believe the enemies of the Reformer, he sought afterwards to conceal the meanness of his birth by changing his paternal name. But not to mention that the change was merely from French into Latin, in which language he composed the greater part of his works, and that he used much less liberty in this respect than was common to learned

CHAP. I. 1509.

men in that age, he effectually cut off this cavil and showed himself superior to the alleged weakness by repeated and spontaneous allusions to the obscurity of his parentage. In the first work which he gave to the public he speaks of himself as "a plebeian" who had as little claim to notice from his birth as from his proficiency in literature. And he adverts to this circumstance in almost the same terms long after he had raised himself to distinction and his name was known over all Europe. Not that he needed to be ashamed of either of his parents. His father possessed great natural sagacity and aptitude for business, and had raised himself above the humble occupations of his forefathers; he was an apostolical notary, procurator-fiscal of the county, registrar in the ecclesiastical court, secretary to the bishop, and proctor in the Chapter of his native diocese. These employments, though they did not lead to affluence, introduced him to the acquaintance of the first families of the place, whose respect he secured by his intelligence and industry. Gerard Cauvin was one of those fathers who do not err by over-indulgence; he kept his children in great awe, and testified his love for them by restraining their vices and providing for their future welfare, rather than by caresses and the gratification of their youthful propensities. Such treatment could not fail to exert an influence on the mind of the future Reformer; whether it contributed in any degree to produce that tincture of severity which has been so often blamed in his character, we have no means of determining. It is certain that he looked back on it himself with unmingled gratitude. "I had," says he, "a somewhat severe father, and

I rejoice at it, as the source of any virtues which I may possess." His mother, who is said to have been a native of Cambray and possessed of great personal beauty,[2] was noted for her piety, which showed itself according to the custom of that age in a scrupulous and devout attention to the forms of worship prescribed by the Church. Under the training of such parents Calvin gave early symptoms of religious feeling, and while his own manners were of the most correct kind, he was accustomed sharply to reprove everything that approached to vice in his youthful companions, as his first biographer had heard from the mouth of unexceptionable witnesses who had known him from his infancy. CHAP. I. 1509.

If any anecdotes of the early life of the Reformer are to be found, they must have been preserved in the traditions of his townsmen. But Noyon became distinguished for its attachment to the ancient faith; by its ghostly annalists its old name of Vermand was interpreted as a proof that it had been always occupied by *true Romans*, while its orthodoxy was traced through its modern designation to the patriarch Noah, and its inhabitants carefully initiated into the belief that the only stigma which it had ever incurred was its having given birth to an heresiarch in the person of John Calvin. The stories circulated concerning him were accordingly the offspring of prejudice, and bear marks of the most superstitious and childish credulity. The exact minute at which he came into the world was ascertained; the conjunction of the planets at the time of his nativity was calculated; and his horoscope was drawn so as to prognosticate all the evils which he afterwards

CHAP. I. 1509.

brought on the Church. His deceitful star flattered him with the honours of the sovereign pontificate. But again, as if the earth had opened her mouth to convict the heavens of falsehood, the poet's fable of the mountain in labour was literally and superabundantly verified at his birth, so as to give clear warning of his future infamy. This is gravely related on the testimony of the wife of the mayor of the city and other honourable matrons whose mothers were present at the second accouchement of Joanna Franc; for the authors or retailers of these old wives' fables, in their zeal to asperse the Reformer, had forgotten what they had elsewhere written of the mean condition of his parents. Nor did this child of the devil fail, as he grew up, to give proof of the hellish plans which he was born to execute; so that if the citizens of Noyon had not been bound by some secret spell, they could not have failed to crush the viper in its egg. For when yet a child, he was observed in the public religious processions to appear with a sword in his hand, instead of a cross; "a presage," says the writer who gravely records this as a fact, "that he would one day prove a great persecutor of the holy cross, as he has been, and that he would plant his false religion with the sword." These tales are so ridiculous that they would stagger our faith in the facts concerning the early life of Calvin, which are related by the same authors, were they not confirmed by collateral authority, and the most authentic documents.

Calvin derived great advantages in his youth from the respectable connections which his father had formed. He has himself told us that, when a

CHAP. I. 1516.

boy, he was received into the house of a branch of the illustrious family of Genlis de Hangest, which held for two generations the episcopal see of Noyon, accompanied with the rank of Earl and Peer of France, and that he was educated along with Claude de Hangest, who afterwards became Abbot of St. Éloy. This fact must be held as incontrovertible, whether it contradicts or is reconcilable with the statement of the annalists of Noyon, who say that he received the rudiments of his education in the Collége des Capeltes, or that of Beza, who says that he studied along with the Mommorii,[3] the sons of one of the first noblemen of his native city, but at his father's expense. By this means, in addition to a liberal education, a higher tone was imparted to his youthful mind, and he acquired, by intercourse with the great, those manners and that knowledge of the world which fitted him for conducting himself with propriety in the public station, and the honourable employments to which he was called in the course of his future life: while the graveness of his character, together with the vigilant eye of a parent, preserved him from those vices and extravagant ideas which are often contracted by young men admitted to the society of those above them in rank.

Calvin was destined for the Church by his father, who concluded, from the early indications of piety which his son had given, that this profession would be the object of his own choice when he reached the years of maturity. It is not unreasonable however to suppose, that in coming to this determination, Gerard Cauvin was also influenced by the prospect

CHAP. I. 1521.

of his son's advancement through his own connection with the Church, and the patronage of the bishop of the diocese. This supposition is strengthened by the fact of his having trained Charles and Anthony, his eldest and his third son, to the same profession. Accordingly, in the year 1521, he procured for his son John, then only twelve years of age, the chaplainship of La Gesine of the Holy Virgin in the Cathedral of Noyon;[4] and in the year 1527, when he was only eighteen years of age, he obtained for him also a presentation to be *curé* or parish-priest of St. Martin de Marteville in the same diocese. The practice of conferring ecclesiastical benefices, including those which had the care of souls annexed to them, was so common in that age that it would be idle to make any reply to the invidious strictures of the popish writers on this part of Gerard Cauvin's conduct. The devout annalist of Noyon, who was so much scandalised at the "spiritual polygamy" of young Calvin, was forced to record examples of a still grosser kind, and has informed us that Charles de Hangest, Bishop of Noyon, obtained from his holiness the Pope a dispensation at fifteen years of age "to hold all kinds of offices, compatible and incompatible, secular and regular, *etiam tria curata*," and that his nephew and successor, Jean de Hangest, was elected bishop at nineteen years of age.

It seems to have been in the fourteenth year of his age that Calvin went first to the University of Paris. "In the year 1523," says a doctor of the Sorbonne to whom we are indebted for several interesting extracts from the registers of Noyon relating to Calvin, "a destructive pestilence raged in Noyon, which led many of the canons to leave

CHAP. I. 1523.

the city. Gerard Cauvin, who loved his son John Calvin on account of the proofs which he gave of genius, natural quickness of perception, and progress in the study of Humanity, procured for him that leave of absence, and of quitting the city, which the Chapter had granted to the canons. Accordingly we find that in a Chapter held on the 5th of August 1523, a request was presented by Gerard for liberty to his son John to go where he chose during the plague, without losing his distributions; which was granted till the feast of St. Remigius ensuing. It was then that he went to Paris to study at the University, being only fourteen years old." Beza says he went to the University along with his school-fellows the Mommorii. According to another authority, he was intrusted to the care of a brother of his father, who was an artisan in Paris.

At the commencement of the sixteenth century the schools of France still retained all the rudeness of the dark ages, and the University of Paris, so rich in its endowments and crowded with students, was equally estranged from true philosophy and polite letters. Nothing was to be heard within its walls but scholastic jargon, frivolous questions, unmeaning distinctions, noisy and captious disputation. The writings of the classics and Christian fathers were unknown, or known only through the obscure and distorting medium of the summaries of the schoolmen. The professors were as ignorant of the language of ancient Greece as of the hieroglyphics of Egypt, and the Latin spoken in the schools was of the most barbarous kind. To the expeditions which Charles VIII. led across the Alps, and

CHAP. I. 1523.

in which so much of the best blood of France was spilt, we may trace the first favourable change on its education. Some of those natives of Greece who had settled in Italy were induced to visit Paris, and though they did not remain so long as to form scholars, they excited a strong desire to know their native tongue in the breasts of a few individuals who were not altogether strangers to the light which had arisen upon other countries.[5] One of these was James le Fevre of Estaples, better known by the name of Faber Stapulensis, who, after travelling through different parts of Europe, commenced teaching philosophy in the College of Le Moine at Paris about the close of the fifteenth century.[6] Faber merits the appellation of Father of French literature, not so much for the books which he published as the impulse he gave to the minds of his scholars. The greater part of those who distinguished themselves during the first half of the sixteenth century were trained under him, or indebted to his instructions.[7] Among these was William Budæus, if indeed that great man can be said to have had any teacher.[8] By the strength of his genius and the ardour of his application, at a period of life when enthusiasm for study has usually abated, he in a short time raised his country to a high rank in the republic of letters, outstripped the Italians in Grecian literature, and contested the palm for varied knowledge and elegance of style with Erasmus himself. He was not, like many of his contemporaries, a mere linguist, and had the honour of being the first who applied his knowledge of languages to the elucidation of civil law, as well as the arts and customs

CHAP. I.

1523.

of the ancients. In this last branch he was followed by his countryman and friend, Lazarus Barf. Their labours, together with the circulation of the writings of Erasmus, produced a new taste in France, which was gratified by the correct and elegant editions of the classics which came from the press of Robert Stephens. The opposition made to these improvements by the supporters of the old school was neutralised by the increasing illumination of the age, and the patronage of the great. Francis I. far surpassed his predecessor Louis XII. as a patron of letters. Amidst the continual wars in which he was engaged, and the ambitious projects which occupied his mind, that magnanimous and active prince found leisure for encouraging the arts and sciences in his kingdom. Though so illiterate himself as to be acquainted only with his mother tongue, he took delight in the company of learned men, whom he employed during his hours of relaxation from business, in translating and reading to him the historians and poets of Greece and Rome.[9] The example of the monarch was followed by his courtiers,[10] and the nobility of France began to unite the study of letters, which they had hitherto despised, to the practice of arms. By the advice of Budæus, Francis planned the erection of a new college on a magnificent scale, in which the three learned languages should be taught, after the pattern of the Buslidean College of Louvain, with additional provision for instruction in the arts and sciences; and Erasmus was invited to preside over the institution. The building was not erected, but professors, partly chosen from natives of France, and partly

CHAP. I. 1523.

invited from foreign countries, were appointed, and commenced their instructions at Paris, in Greek and Hebrew, in mathematics, medicine, and philosophy, under the auspices and at the expense of the Sovereign.[11] Besides their direct influence in promoting liberal education, the royal professors contributed indirectly but powerfully to the improvement of the old literary institutions in the capital and through the kingdom.

These improvements had commenced before Calvin went to the University, and were completed before he left it. Having entered the college of La Marche, Calvin had for his teacher in humanity Mathurin Cordery, who was famed during his life as a teacher in France, and whose familiar *Colloquies* have since that time been the means of initiating so many thousands of young men into Roman letters, and at the same time imbuing their minds with the principles of virtue and piety.[12] As Calvin was principally indebted to this excellent person for the classical taste and command over the Latin tongue which he attained, it is gratifying to read what he afterwards said of his revered teacher in dedicating one of his works to him:— "It is but just," says he, "that a portion of my labours should be inscribed to you, under whose direction, at my first entrance on the course of study, I made such proficiency as to be at least of some benefit to the Church of God. Having been sent by my father to Paris when a boy, after I had obtained a slight acquaintance with the rudiments of the Latin tongue, I providentially obtained you for a short time as my preceptor, and by means of your natural mode of teaching, learned to pro-

secute the study in a better way than that to which I had been accustomed. You had formerly presided with honour over the highest class; but finding that the scholars who came from the other masters, trained for show, were not grounded in the principles of the language, so that you needed to form them anew, and wearied with this drudgery, you, in the year that I entered the University, chose to undertake the charge of the fourth class. This was your own pleasure; but I perceive the singular goodness of God in ordering it so that I should have the advantage of such tuition. For though I did not enjoy it long, in consequence of being removed to a higher branch of education by the authority, or rather humour, of a foolish person who had the direction of our studies, yet your instructions were of such benefit to me that I willingly ascribe to them any skill which I may have attained in this department, and wish this to be transmitted to posterity, that, if any shall reap profit from my writings, they may know that they are indebted for it in part to you."[13] Cordery was richly rewarded for his services, if it be true, which has been asserted by some, that his pupil was the means of converting him to the Protestant faith.[14] We know that he continued regularly to correspond with him, and procured his appointment to be rector of the Grammar School of Geneva, where he survived his pupil a few months, and died at the advanced age of eighty-eight. 1525.

From the college of La Marche Calvin was removed, reluctantly as we have seen, to that of Montaigu, where he studied logic and philosophy

CHAP. I. 1525.

under a Spaniard of reputation and considerable talents.[15] Nothing could be more uncongenial to his mind, which had an innate aversion to laborious trifling and artificial subtleties, than the scholastic philosophy, in the study of which young men then consumed the greater part of their time at universities; but he submitted to the irksome task of acquiring that disputatious art, and it was not altogether useless to him at a future period of his life, when, called into the field of controversy by the theological sophists of the age, he proved himself more than a match for them in the use of their own favourite weapons.[16] But he had obtained from his first preceptor a key which gave him admittance into a garden, where he found enjoyments and society more suited to his taste. When his fellow-disciples were endeavouring to "gather grapes of thorns and figs of thistles," and to compensate their unprofitable toils by spending their leisure hours in frivolous or dissolute amusements, he was employed in storing his mind with the treasures of ancient knowledge. By the time he finished the ordinary course of study at the University he had read the best Roman authors, both in prose and verse, was critically acquainted with their several styles, and master of the information which they conveyed.

In the meantime the destination of his studies was altered. His father perceiving that the bar opened a surer path to wealth and honour than the altar, and probably thinking that he was training too many of his sons for the Church, sent him orders to commence the study of law. Though quite unprepared for this sudden change of plans,

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1527.

the respect which he cherished for parental authority induced him to comply without hesitation, not doubting that his mind would become reconciled to the new profession, and that he would find no difficulty in acquiring the knowledge requisite for succeeding in it, by that persevering exertion of which he knew himself to be capable. Accordingly he went to the University of Orleans, which had long been the chief seminary of jurisprudence in France. This appears to have been in the year 1527.[17] Under the celebrated lawyer Peter Stella, or Étoile, he soon distinguished himself so much that he was employed to superintend the classes during the absence or illness of the professors, and when he left the University, the highest honours of the faculty were unanimously conferred on him, without any fee, as a reward for uncommon merit.[18]

When at Orleans Calvin lived in the house of Nicolas Chemin, with whom he had been acquainted at Paris, and whose parents boarded young men attending the University.[19] With him and Francis Daniel, an advocate in the same city, he maintained for some years an epistolary correspondence, part of which at least has been preserved, and furnishes us with the earliest information concerning his pursuits and feelings, from his own pen. These letters serve to show that he had a mind formed for the enjoyment of friendship, that he was warm and steady in his attachments, ready to grant as well as to receive a favour, that while exempt from the vices and frivolities, he could indulge in the gay humour and pleasantries of youth, and that his good qualities secured him the respect of his

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fellow-students, and the confidence and esteem of such of them as he selected for friends.

1528. In spring 1528 Calvin left Orleans on a visit to his native city. The reason which prevented him returning so soon as he intended, is stated in the following letter to an intimate acquaintance in Orleans, which is the earliest production of his pen that I have met with. "As I presume you have not yet been made acquainted with my present circumstances, you may be ready to suspect me of breach of promise, if it were for no other reason than this, that you have hitherto found me a punctual, not to say troublesome, correspondent. My silence has not proceeded from the thought that you would not suffer a short interval to weaken the good opinion which you had formed of me from long intimacy and daily intercourse. And yet such is your natural disposition, that you are not wont to prejudge anything rashly, which makes me confident that I shall recover your favour, if so be I have lost it in any degree. Take then my excuse in few words. Having said at parting that I would return within a short time, the hope of accomplishing this kept me long in a state of suspense. For when I was preparing to return to you, my father's illness rendered a delay necessary; but as the physician gave hopes of a speedy recovery, I thought I had only for a few days longer to bear that absence from you which I had already found so painful. Thus day after day passed until at last the disease assumed an alarming appearance, no hope of life left. Whatever the event may be, I mean to see you again. Remember me to Francis Daniel, Philip, and all the company in your house. As your name

is now enrolled among the professors of literature, let not your modesty retard your diligence. Adieu, my friend Chemin, dearer to me than life. Noyon, 14th May 1528." 1528.

In a letter to Francis Daniel he says:—"Your great attention to my affairs demands my grateful acknowledgements, and I shall not lose the opportunity of requiting you if any shall offer; for I flatter myself it may be in my power to do you at least a similar favour. Nor will that expunge my name from your day-book, in every page of which I appear as your debtor. But if you think me worth while, I give you myself in payment upon this condition that if I have any property, it shall follow its possessor. Moreover, you know that your prompt and ready service has obtained a door to my impudences, so that henceforth I will not be a bashful beggar, nor trouble myself with thinking whether I shall pay or not; for you do not lend but bestow favours. Perhaps you think I am indirectly craving money, but be not you indirectly censorious or an uncharitable interpreter, unless you wish, as usual, to have your joke. Remember me to Melchior, if he has not yet left the place, to Surguet, Pigmæus, and our friend Canter. Get from Surguet the copy of Homer's *Odyssey* as if I wanted it, and keep it beside you, unless Roussart, who usually delivers my letters to you, and to whom I spoke on the subject, has anticipated you. Adieu, my incomparable friend."[20]

If he returned to Orleans he must have remained there but a short time, as he reached Paris in the end of July, and seems to have remained chiefly in the capital during the remainder of that year and

CHAP. I. 1528.

the whole of the following. From a letter to his friend Daniel it appears that he was again engaged in studying at Paris :—" As for my own affairs, they are as follows : I have not as yet got fixed lodgings, though there are plenty to be had if I wished to hire, and offered by my friends if I chose to avail myself of their kindness. The father of our friend Coiffart offered me his house with a countenance which indicated that he was most anxious to have me with his son. The latter is extremely urgent that I should become his chamber-companion. Nothing would give me more pleasure than to gratify the wish of a friend whose company, as you well know, is both pleasant and instructive, and I would yield at once were it not that I purpose this year to attend Danes, whose school is situated at a great distance from Coiffart's house. All friends here salute you, especially Coiffart and Viermer, with whom I am about to take an airing on horseback. Remember me to your mother, wife, and sister Frances. Adieu! I have begun a letter to the canon, which I shall finish at my return, and if there is time attach it."[21] Danes, referred to in this letter, was at that time professor of Greek at Paris along with Tussan.[22] We shall afterwards see reason to conclude that Calvin did not find it practicable to attend this professor's class, or that, in his own opinion, he derived little benefit from it. Several letters were written by Calvin in 1530 to his friends at Orleans. In one of them he states his abortive attempt to prevent a brother of his friend Daniel from setting off for Italy in consequence of a quarrel with his relations.[23]

It was in the year 1531 that he went to the

University of Bourges, attracted by the fame of Andrew Alciat, who had been called from Italy to teach jurisprudence in that city. While attending the lectures of Alciat he acquired the knowledge of Greek from Melchior Wolmar, a native of Rothweil in Switzerland, and a person of great integrity as well as learning, whom Margaret, queen of Navarre, who was also duchess of Berry, had lately brought to that place for the sake of raising the character of her University. A mutual friendship was formed between the master and scholar, which continued till the death of the former. In a dedication of one of his works to Wolmar, Calvin says:—"I cannot forget the fidelity with which you have cultivated and increased the friendship which was long ago formed between us, the liberality with which you were prepared to exert yourself on my behalf when you thought an opportunity for testifying your regard for me presented itself, and the zeal which you showed to raise me to an honourable situation, which the calling to which I was then bound prevented me from accepting. But I am chiefly delighted with the recollection of that early period when being sent by my father to acquire the knowledge of civil law, I, under your direction, added to the study of jurisprudence that of the Greek language, which you taught with great applause. It was not your fault that I did not make greater progress in it, for you kindly undertook to conduct me through the whole course, when the death of my father called me away soon after I had started. For this, however, I owe you no small thanks that you imbued my mind with the first principles which were afterwards of great

CHAP. I. 1531.

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advantage to me."[24] About this time he also commenced the study of Hebrew.[25]

1531. We learn from the last quoted letter the exact time of his leaving the University of Bourges, for his father died on the 26th of May 1531.[26] Though Gerard Cauvin died a good Catholic, the popish writers, from antipathy to the son, have endeavoured to fasten a stigma on the memory of the father. He incurred, they tell us, several censures during his life, and died excommunicated for debt. The simple facts of the case, however, are these, as appears from the documents on which they rest the charge:—Being much employed in business, he was appointed executor of the will of two chaplains belonging to the Cathedral. In the management of this cause he was involved in a prosecution, and a decision was given against him from which he appealed. At a Chapter held in November 1528, the prosecution was suspended on account of the state of his health. It is probable that he never completely recovered from the disease under which we have seen he laboured during that year, and the plea was not settled at the time of his death. Testamentary causes in the Popish Church are decided in the Ecclesiastical Court, in which a sentence of excommunication has the same force as letters of caption have with us. On the death of Gerard Cauvin the opposite party procured this sentence against him, in consequence of which his body could not be interred; but Charles, his eldest son, instantly came forward and gave security for the discharge of the debt, upon which the excommunication was taken off.[27] There was nothing extraordinary in this; instances of the same kind must occur in the

records from which it was drawn, and it would never have been heard of had not the son of the deceased proved a noted heretic. 1532.

After his father's funeral Calvin removed to Paris, whither it is possible he went, rather than to Bourges, for the sake of superintending the studies of his younger brother Anthony.[28] In the course of the following year he was in the capital, where he published a commentary on Seneca's treatise, *De Clementia*.[29] It has been supposed that his object in this work was to appease the mind of Francis I. and extinguish the fires which had been kindled in the kingdom against the Lutherans. He certainly had little encouragement to anticipate such an issue, from the success of the original work which was addressed to Nero before he had discovered his cruelty. But there is no proof of such a design on the part of the commentator; there is not an expression in the notes from which the reader could infer what his religious sentiments were.[30] The truth is, the work is entirely literary and philosophical; and it was the fruit of his classical studies. In the dedication to his school-fellow Claude de Hangest, Abbot of St. Éloy, he apologises for his apparent presumption in meeting the public eye, and assigns the reason which induced him to take the step:—"I did not," says he, "compose these scholia, such as they are, with the intention of making them public, and yet I allowed my mind to indulge the idea of publication, to stimulate it to greater exertion, that so I might not lose my labour through idleness and negligence, as often happens to persons who write for mere pleasure." On showing his manuscript to his friends, and particularly

CHAP. I. 1532.

to Connon, in whose judgment he placed great confidence, they urged him to put it to press. He lamented that the writings of Seneca had fallen into neglect among the learned, in consequence of the severe but not altogether impartial and candid criticisms of Quintilian and Gellius. He could not help thinking, with submission to better judges, that they abounded with proofs of erudition and traits of eloquence, so that it was impossible to rise from the perusal of them without feeling both instructed and pleased. The style indeed wanted the purity of the Augustan age, and was florid and diffuse rather than correct; but it was not destitute of elegance. The chief defect of the author was the want of lucid order.

The first work of a celebrated author is, not unreasonably, an object of curiosity. We discover in it the early bent of his mind, and the germ of those talents which were developed in his subsequent writings. It is worthy of remark that Calvin's earliest production was a Commentary, and consequently of the same general character with the greater part of the works which afterwards proceeded from his pen. There are in the notes some minute illustrations which, at a more advanced age, he would have excluded as trivial, but, with the exception of these and the numerous quotations of parallel passages from ancient authors, which custom had rendered almost indispensable in such compositions, they show the same sagacity in discovering the meaning of his author, the same perspicuity in stating it, and the same freedom from prolixity and unnecessary amplification which appear in all his commentaries on sacred Scripture.

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I have not observed that any of his opponents has imputed his predestinarian opinions to his early predilection for the orator of the Portico, nor do I think that there is the least ground for tracing them to this source: for Calvin in his notes speaks very unfavourably, though not without discrimination, of the peculiarities of the Stoic philosophy.[31] The work contains specimens of good criticism; it shows that, notwithstanding the modesty with which he was accustomed to speak of his attainments in Greek, his reading in that language was even then far from being slender, and it bears witness to his extensive acquaintance with ancient history, chronology, philosophy, and law. In reading it one is struck with the numerous references to the writings of Cicero, which is the more remarkable as his own style differed so widely from that of the prince of Roman orators and philosophers, and approached in point of succinctness more nearly to the style of Sallust. Notwithstanding this, Cicero was a favourite author with him, and it was his practice, till a late period of his life, to read regularly the whole of his works every year.

It is natural to suppose that Calvin felt anxious about the reception of his first work, especially as it was printed at his own expense and risk. "The die is at length thrown," he writes to his friend Daniel; "my Commentaries on the books of Seneca, *De Clementia*, have been published at my own expense, and have cost more money than you could believe. I must now exert myself to get something collected. I have excited some professors in this city to read the work; and have moved a friend to use it publicly in the class at the University of

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Bourges. You can also be of some use to me. If it is not too great trouble to you, do grant me this favour for the sake of our old friendship, especially as without any injury to your reputation, you may, in obliging me, do what will be perhaps for the public good. Provided you agree to do me this kindness, I shall send you a hundred copies, or what number you please. In the meantime, I beg you to accept of this copy for yourself, without thinking that it lays you under the least obligation; for I wish to leave you at perfect liberty. Farewell! and write me back soon. I wrote lately to Pigmæus, but he has not answered me. To Du Brosse I wrote long ago, and from that time have received no return. The bearer of the copy for Le Roye (Regius) will pay his respects to you."[32] It appears that Calvin intended a visit at this time to his friends at Orleans, of which he speaks in the following jocular strain in a letter to the same correspondent:—"I know not well what to say to Chemin, seeing that, though often written to, he has never replied, but I am determined not to budge until he first write me; for how know I but I may be obliged to freeze for some days in the open air, while I seek a lodging for this carcase?"[33]

In closing this account of the secular studies of Calvin, I cannot help noticing their tendency to fit him for future usefulness in the important sphere in which he was destined by Providence to move. The course of civil law through which he passed to gratify the ambitious views of his father, contributed to enlarge his mind, qualified him for giving sound counsel on the most critical conjunctures, to that interesting Republic of which

he became a citizen, and secured him the respect of a people who repeatedly testified their reluctance to submit to the religious reforms and strict discipline which he introduced among them. Nor was his proficiency in classical learning of less benefit to him as a writer. I do not refer so much here to the purity of his style, which has attracted many readers to his works, or to his classical quotations and allusions, of which he was more sparing than Melanchthon and some others of his contemporaries; but to the complete command which he had of whatever was excellent in the writings of the heathen sages, and the superior refinement in point of thought and expression which it imparted to his illustrations and defences of Divine truth. As a confirmation of this remark, it may be proper to introduce here the following just and beautiful description of the comparative excellence of philosophy and Christian theology contained in a letter written by him to a friend some years after the period of which we have been speaking, but which will, at the same time, serve as an appropriate transition to the account of those sacred studies to which he devoted himself during the whole of the remaining part of his life: "It is granted by all that truth, of what kind soever it be, is precious. But as the Deity is the fountain of all that is good, you should think with yourself that you incur the charge of deep ingratitude, if you do not welcome every portion of truth, in whatever channel it may come to you, as proceeding from God, and receive it as if it were spoken to you by a voice from heaven. For if it is criminal to despise the gifts of God, to ascribe to men what properly belongs to God is

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flagrant impiety. Wherefore philosophy is to be viewed as a rare gift of heaven, and those wise men who have appeared in every age were raised up by God to point the world to the knowledge of truth. But how great the difference between their writings and that doctrine which God has consecrated to himself that it be held sacred and inviolable by men! In them you find a small portion of truth, given forth as for a trial, that by tasting it you may learn how delicious and grateful the knowledge of it must be; in this it is poured out to you in such abundance as to refresh and recreate the soul; the former presents you with the shadow and image of truth, so as to excite your desires after it, but without introducing you to its acquaintance; the latter places before you the body and substance of truth, so that you become familiarly acquainted with it, and are permitted, as it were, to touch and handle it; there you have the seed, but obstructed and choked in the germ; here you have the fruit, and that in its full maturity; in fine, there you have certain coruscations, which, after throwing a partial light over your path, fail you in the middle of the course, or rather, which instead of pointing out to you the road, serve only to keep you from wandering further from it; but here the Spirit of God, like a bright lamp, or rather like the sun itself, shines with full-orbed splendour, irradiating the whole path of life from its commencement to its termination, and ushering the traveller into a blessed immortality. From this you can learn where you may sojourn for a little, and where you ought to take up your rest as in a fixed abode."[34]

NOTES TO CHAPTER I.

[1] Jaques le Vasseur, *Annales de l'Église Cathédrale de Noyon*, pp. 1151-1157. Paris, 1633.

[2] "On m'a dit qu'elle estoit des plus belles femmes de son temps," says Desmay. (*Vie de Jean Calvin*, p. 2.) To this Le Vasseur adds without any authority, "mais d'assez mauvais bruit." (*Annales de Noyon*, p. 1152.)

[3] Calvin. Hangest, Seign. de Montmer. "Louis de Hangest, Seigneur de Montmer and de Chaleranges, dernier fils de Jean de Hangest, Seigneur de Genlis et de Marie D'Amboise fut conseiller et chambellan du roi, gouverneur de Monson, et grand eccuyer de la Reine Anne de Bretagne." By his wife, Marie de Fay D'Atthies, dame de Moyencourt, he had three sons, Joachim de Hangest, Seigneur de Moyencourt, who was killed at the taking of St. Pol by the Imperialists in 1537; Yves de Hangest, Seigneur d'Ivoy, killed along with his brother; and Philippe de Hangest, espoused by contract in 1521 to Jean D'Aspremont, Seigneur de Busaney and D'Amblise. (Anselm, *Hist. Généal. et Chronol. de France*, tom. vi. p. 748; Paris, 1730.)

The above Louis of Montmer was brother to Charles de Hangest, abbot of St. Éloy, Bishop and Count of Noyon, who died 19th June 1528, and cousin to Jean de Hangest* (born 1506) who was elected Bishop of Noyon in 1525 in consequence of the resignation of his uncle. (*Ibid.* pp. 746-7, *comp.* tom. ii. pp. 419, 420.)

Of Jean the bishop it is said, "Tous les historiens lui donnent le titre de sçavan, et ajoutent qu'il aimoit les belles lettres et ceux qui y excelloient." (*Ib.* tom. ii. p. 420.)

N.B.—The above reconciles the apparent contradiction alluded to in the text between Calvin's own statement as to his education and that of Beza.

[4] Desmay says that he also obtained a chapel at St. Quintin à l'Eau, on the Faubourg of Pérouse, called the Chapel of St. Jean de Baiencourt. (*Remarq. sur la Vie de Jean Calvin*, p. 31.)

[5] Gregorius Tifernas, Hermonymus Spartiata, and Janus Lascaris, were the Greeks who visited France. (Lud. Regius, *Vita Gulielmi Budaei*, in *Batesii Collect.*, p. 220. Melch. Adami *Vitæ German. Philos.*, p. 134.)

[6] Henry Stephens the elder had Greek types, though I have not seen any notice of a work printed by him in that language. In the *Psalterium Quintuplex*, by Faber, which proceeded from the office of Henry Stephens

* A brother of Jean de Hangest distinguished himself during the civil wars, and was in the army of the Prince of Condé. (*Ib.* ii. 747.)

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in 1509, are many quotations in Greek, chiefly from the Septuagint; but the rudeness of the character forms a singular contrast to the beauty of the Roman type, and capital letters often occur in the middle of a word.

It appears from this work that the study of the Hebrew language had already been introduced into France. (See afterwards in account of the introduction of Reformed doctrine.)

[7] Maittaire, *Vit. Stephanorum*, p. 8. *Biographie Universelle*, Art. Fèbre (Jaques d'Étaples). Among other foreigners he had Beatus Rhenanus and Ammerbachius for scholars. (Melch. Adami *Vitæ German. Philos.*, pp. 134, 208. *Vitæ Germ. Theol.*, p. 280). Buchanan says of him :—

> Qui studiis primus lucem intulit omnibus, artes
> Edoctum cunctas hæc tegit urna Fabrum.

[8] L. Regii *Vit. Budaei, ut supra*, p. 220. Budæus had gone through the ordinary course of study before he attended the lectures of Faber. He entered the College of Navarre as a student of divinity in 1484. (Launoi, *Academia Paris. illustrata*, pp. 217, 878.)

[9] Maittaire, *Vit. Steph.*, pp. 147, 155. Beza, *Hist. Eccles.*, tom. i. p. 3.

[10] Beza specifies Poncher, Bishop of Paris, Louis Ruze, civil lieutenant, and Francis de Luines.

[11] *Vita Budaei*, p. 236. Beza, *Hist. Eccles.*, tom. i. p. 4. Lambini, *Epist. Dedic. in Horatium*, Venet. 1566. Launoi, *Acad. Paris. illustr.*, pp. 679-681. Aug. Justinian seems to have first taught Hebrew at Paris (*Hist. of Ref. in Italy*, p. 65, 2d edit.), and to him succeeded Cheradamus (Beze, *Hist. Eccl.*, tom. i. p. 3). The celebrated Francis Vatable was the first royal Professor of Hebrew, James Tussan and Peter Danes were joint Professors of Greek, and Orantius Finæus Professor of Mathematics. Our countryman, Henry Scrimger, was at one time colleague to Tussan in the Greek chair. (Maittaire, *Hist. Stephanorum*, p. 251.)

[12] Cordery's first work was a treatise, *De Corrupti Sermonis Emendatione*, printed at Paris in 1531. The epistle prefixed to it has been much praised. (Maittaire, *Hist. Stephanorum*, p. 24.)

[13] "Eximiæ pietatis et doctrinæ viro Maturino Corderio Lausanensis scholæ moderatori." Genevæ, 13 Kal. Mart. 1550. (*Dedic. Comment. in Epist. ad Thessal.* i., *Opera*, tom. vii.)

[14] "Joanni Calvino, quem ad humaniores informarat in collegio Maretisano nimium credulus. A discipulo magister recti specie deceptus," says Launoi in his account of the College of La Marche and Navarre. (Launoi, *Acad. Paris. illustr.*, pp. 699, 700.)

[15] "Jo. Poblatius Hispanus" is named by Lambinus as one of the learned foreigners whom Francis I. invited to his kingdom to promote the interests of literature and science. (*Epist. Dedic. in Horat.*, Venet. 1566.)

[16] "Efficacissime refellit, quisquis errorem optime novit," says Erasmus, when speaking on this subject. (*Epist.*, tom. i. num. 207.)

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[17] Beza speaks of Calvin's coming to Orleans under the year 1529. (*Hist. Eccles. des Égl. Réf. de France*, tom. i. p. 9.) But there is extant a letter from Calvin to Nicolas Chemin, dated "Prid. Idus Maias 1528," from which it appears that he had been in Orleans before it was written.

[18] Beza, *Vit. Calv.* In a notarial instrument executed at Noyon in 1531, he is designed, "Vénérable personne, Maitre Jean Cauvin, curé de Pont l'Évêque," and in letters of procuration, granted on the 14th February 1531 at Paris, he is designed, "Maitre Jean Cauvin, Licensié es Loix." (Le Vasseur, p. 1169.) This removes the difficulty of Senebier, who was at a loss to know why the title Maitre was placed before Calvin's name, and not of the other pastors in the records of Geneva.

[19] *Hist. Eccles. des Égl. Réf.*, tom. i. p. 9. Desmay says that "in the University of Orleans Calvin was procurator for the nation of Picardy, and projecting a long journey, he, in order to bear his charges, carried off the silver cup of his nation, which was in his keeping." (*Vie de Jean Calvin*, p. 43.) "If he would tell a lie," says Drelincourt, "he should have given it some colour of truth. Calvin was then in great esteem and honour among men of letters; and will any person believe that he could have stolen a cup intrusted to his care? But from Orleans he went to study at Bourges. Would they not have pursued him thither to recover this cup?" (*Défense de Calvin*, p. 174.)

[20] This letter is dated "Melliani, Idus Septembris 1529."

[21] "Parisiis, 5 Calend. Jul. 1529."

[22] John Sturm, who attended the University of Paris about this time, gives an account of the different modes of teaching followed by these professors. (Sturmii *Institut. Literat.*, p. 311.) *Conf.* Maittaire, *Stephanorum Hist.*, pp. 200-202.

[23] "Fr. Danieli, Ex. Acropoli, 15 Cal. Feb. 1530." In a postscript to this letter he says: "Be so good as deliver my letter to my sister Mary Paludana."

[24] "Ornatissimo viro Melchiori Volmario Rufo J. C. Joannes Calvinus S. Genevæ, Calendis Augusti 1546." (*Dedic. Com. in Epist. ad Corinth.* ii., *Opera*, tom. vii.)

[25] Papyrius Masson, *Elog. de Calvin.*

[26] Le Vasseur, p. 1145. Beza must therefore have been mistaken in supposing that he went directly from Orleans to Bourges.

[27] The documents are inserted along with an invidious comment in Vasseur; *Annales*, pp. 1153-1155.

[28] A deed is subscribed by both of them at Paris on the 14th February 1531," *i.e.* 1532, according to modern reckoning. (Vasseur, p. 1169.)

[29] It was printed "Apud Ludovicum Cyaneum sub duobus gallis, Via Jacobæa." (Vasseur, p. 1533.) The dedication is dated "Parisiis, pridie Nonas Aprilis Anno Salutis nostræ 1532."

[30] Those who wish to see an exposure of the impudent blunders of Varillas, who, criticising this work without having seen it, speaks of

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its praises of the Sacramentarians and invectives against the martyrs of the ancient Church, may consult Bayle, *Dict.* Art. Calvin, note B.

[31] See particularly the Notes on the second book of the *De Clementia.*

[32] "Parisiis, 10th Cal. Maias." There is another letter on the same subject, also addressed to Francis Daniel. In the copy preserved at Geneva it is dated "1530," but from internal marks this is evidently a mistake of the transcriber for 1532. [Calvin seems to have felt the delicacy of the application, and, dissatisfied with his first draught, to have written another in a form somewhat different.] In this letter, after stating the substance of what is given in the text, he adds: "That my reputation may be safe, be so good, in the first place, as write me with what degree of favour or coldness the work is received. That you may have an early opportunity of judging by a perusal, I sent you one copy for yourself; see to get the other five conveyed to Bourges for Regius (le Roi,) Pigmæus, Surguet, Brosse, and Barrhatz. If Surguet undertakes to prelect on it, he will do me no small favour."

[33] Letter dated by mistake, 1530.

[34] *Epistolæ,* p. 50, *Opera,* tom. ix.

CHAPTER II.

TILL DRIVEN FROM FRANCE, 1533-1536.

In the account which has been given of Calvin's education, I have avoided saying anything of his religious views; and in now tracing the important change which these had already undergone, it will be necessary to go back a few years. But before proceeding to this it will be proper to give a short account of the state of religion in France, and of the progress which the doctrine of the Reformation had made in that kingdom. This is necessary for other reasons besides its throwing light upon the revolution in Calvin's mind; the history of his life is intimately connected with that of the Reformation in France; for though he spent the greater part of his time out of his native country, the rapid progress which the Protestant opinions made in it, after he embraced them, was owing to his writings, public and private, more than to any other cause whatever.

France had never yielded the same implicit subjection to the Bishop of Rome as the other nations of the west. She had avowed her adherence to the Councils of Constance and Basle,

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and resisted the encroachments of the Papal Court on what were dignified with the name of the liberties of the Gallican Church. The most important of these liberties were embodied in the Pragmatical Sanction, consisting of certain articles chiefly taken from the decrees of the Council of Basle, and ratified by an assembly of French clergy held at Bourges in 1438, with the royal concurrence. Besides the assertion of the necessity of General Councils and their superiority to the Pope, they declared the right of Chapters and Monasteries to elect their bishops and abbots, condemned with certain modifications the Pontifical claims to a tribute for the confirmation of elections, to the reservation of benefices, and to grants of them in expectation, and laid restrictions on appeals to Rome. The Popes exerted all their influence to obtain the revocation of this obnoxious deed, and found various pretexts for invalidating its provisions. Irritated by the opposition which he met with from the warlike pontiff Julius II., Louis XII. summoned, in 1510, a Provincial Council at Tours, in which the lawfulness of making war on the Pope in certain circumstances was pronounced, and loud complaints were made against the exactions of the Roman See; and in the following year that monarch concurred with the Emperor Maximilian in calling a General Council at Pisa, which renewed the declaration that the Church needed reformation both in its head and members, enacted canons for regulating the manners of the clergy, and after summoning the Supreme Pontiff three times, proceeded to suspend him from all exercise, spiritual and temporal, of the Popedom, as a scandalous person,

contumacious, a fomenter of schism, and enemy to the peace of Christendom. These proceedings excited in the breasts of a few enlightened persons, who were convinced of the inveterate corruption of the Court of Rome, the hope that France would be emancipated from its degrading and intolerable yoke. But Julius dying and being succeeded by Leo X., Louis entered into a secret treaty with the new Pope, renounced the Council of Pisa, and acknowledged that which had been assembled by pontifical authority in the Lateran. Upon this the French bishops at Pisa hastened to make their submission, and were formally absolved by his Holiness. Francis I. followed the example of his predecessor, and, to secure the favour of the Pope, consented to the revocation of the Pragmatical Sanction and the substitution of the Concordat, by which the rights taken from the clergy of France were divided between the king and the Pope. The Parliament of Paris, after a considerable show of reluctance, agreed to the registration of the new agreement, but the University, in spite of all the influence of the Crown, entered a solemn protest against it, and appealed from the Pope, ill advised, to a General Council convened lawfully and in a place to which they might have safe access. 1512.

The appeal of the University acknowledged the general corruption of the Church, and was very explicit and full in stating the injurious effects which the revocation of the Pragmatical Sanction would produce on the interests of religion in France; but it offered no evidence that its compilers were sensible of the proper cause of the evils which they deplored, or disposed to seek a reformation of them

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according to the Word of God, of which they make no mention, or agreeably to the genuine principles of Christianity, with which they discover little sympathy. They begin by professing their faith in "the holy Catholic Apostolic Church, the mistress of the whole world," and by protesting that they mean "not to oppose the authority of the holy See, or the power of their most sacred lord the Pope, when well-advised, whom they acknowledge as God's vicegerent on earth;" and among their reasons for revering the Sacred Council of Basle, they specify its judgment "that the glorious Virgin Mary was conceived without original sin."

The divines of Paris, who were the oracles of France, had all along distinguished themselves by their zeal for the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin; and forced a great many persons to recant the opposite tenet. Indeed no opinion contrary to the doctrine of the Church of Rome, in whatever country it was vented, escaped the censure of these orthodox professors, who looked upon themselves as the conservators of the Catholic faith. Their records contain decrees formally condemning the tenets of the Waldenses, Wickliffe, Huss, and Jerome of Prague, pronouncing them execrable, and deserving of the highest punishment. In 1484 John Laillier was prosecuted for having preached in Paris against the commandments of the Church, the canonisation of saints, the celibacy of the clergy, the observance of Lent, and other established opinions and practices. His ordinary, the Bishop of Paris, absolved him upon his making a public retractation; but the faculty, displeased with the indulgence shown him, appealed from the sentence,

and obtained from Innocent VIII. a bull setting aside the episcopal absolution, and ordering Laillier to be thrown into prison and tried anew by the inquisitor of the bounds.[1] When Reuchlin, one of the restorers of letters in Germany, was involved in a contest with the monks for the advancement of Hebrew learning, the divines of Paris in 1514 joined with those of Cologne in pronouncing his opinions false, rash, erroneous, and blasphemous, and ordering the book which contained them to be committed to the flames.[2] 1514.

We need not, therefore, wonder at the course which the Theological Faculty of Paris pursued when the German Reformer attacked the corruptions of the Church of Rome. Encouraged by the opinion which they held concerning the superiority of Councils to the Pope, by the sentence they had pronounced on certain propositions concerning indulgences,[3] and trusting to a report that some of them had expressed themselves favourably to his cause,[4] Luther, during his dispute with Eckius at Leipsic, appealed to the judgment of the divines at Paris, whose example he had already followed by appealing from the Pope to a General Council. The decision to which they came would have daunted a person of less intrepidity than Luther, and would even have staggered his resolution, had he not by that time acquired additional courage from experience and success. Having met in the Sorbonne, and examined his writings, they, on the 15th April 1521, launched against him a furious sentence, finding him guilty of an impious and unblushing arrogance, which deserved to be checked by chains and fire, rather than argument, compared his book against the

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Babylonian captivity to the Koran; charged him with reviving the errors of the Montanists, Manichæans, Arians, Catharists, Bohemians, Albigenses, Waldenses, Pipusians, Lambereans, Jovianists, and other monsters of insanity; pronounced his whole doctrine to be destructive to the souls of the simple, injurious to all the doctors, derogatory to ecclesiastical authority and the hierarchy, schismatical, antiscriptural, and blasphemous to the Holy Spirit, and declared that the writings which contained it should be delivered to the flames, and their author compelled to abjure them in the most public and ample manner.[5] To this summary sentence of condemnation the Faculty added a particular censure of the works which Luther had published under a great variety of heads.

Melanchthon appeared in defence of his friend in opposition to the sentence of the Faculty, which he characterised as "filled with womanish fury and monkish impotence." The Faculty retaliated by issuing a condemnatory sentence against the works of the apologist, which they pronounced more pernicious and dangerous than those of Luther, "on account of the art and blandishments of the style." The violence of the Sorbonne defeated their object. The writings of the Reformers were sought for, and within a short time there sprang up in Paris favourers of Luther, including persons distinguished for their rank and talents. The chief of these was Louis Berquin, a young man of noble birth and one of the King's Council, who, besides translations of the works of Luther, Melanchthon, and Carolstadt, published treatises of his own for the instruction of his countrymen, which were circu-

lated and eagerly read in the capital and throughout the kingdom. The opposition was not confined to Berquin. A search being ordered, a great number of works of the same kind were discovered; and everywhere the disputes concerning religion engaged the minds of men.[6] Nor were the converts to the new opinions confined to the laity; and it is worthy of remark that those among the regular clergy who first taught them were chiefly monks of St. Augustine, the order to which Luther belonged.[7] 1521.

Among the causes which contributed to the spread of the new opinions in France, the first place is due to the taste which had been created for polite letters, and the lately-invented art of gratifying that taste. The sacred Scriptures were zealously recovered from the rubbish of ages, along with the classics of Greece and Rome, and the same criticism which was employed in furnishing correct editions of the latter, elucidating them by notes and presenting them in translations, was extended to the former. No person distinguished himself more in these labours than the learned printer Henry Stephens the elder, on whom the enlightened and impartial De Thou has pronounced the splendid panegyric:—"That not only France, but the whole Christian world was more indebted to him than any country ever was to the greatest warrior who enlarged its boundaries; and that by his industry he reflected more real and imperishable glory on the reign of Francis I. than that monarch gained by all his achievements in peace and in war."[8] By his editions of the Hebrew Bible and Greek New Testament, and of the Latin version, he incurred the deadly hate of the clergy, who extracted no

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fewer than one hundred and sixty-seven heretical propositions from the short notes which he appended to the latter.[9] Others had successfully laboured before him in the same field, though with inferior advantages. As early as 1509, Faber Stapulensis published a Psalter in four different Latin versions, accompanied with annotations.[10] The preface to this work contains sentiments which afterwards secured it the honour of a place in the Index Expurgatorius of Trent and of Madrid. In the course of a few years the same author sent forth commentaries on the Epistles of Paul and the Gospels, in which he suggested improvements on the authorised Latin version, and explained various passages in a different way from that in which they were commonly understood in his time. This excited against him the hostility of the divines of the Sorbonne, with Natalis Beda, the Syndic of the University, at their head, who regarded the least deviation from the Vulgate as a species of sacrilege, and an appeal to the Hebrew and Greek originals of the Bible as an almost undoubted mark of heresy. In 1523 the Sorbonne condemned Faber's Exposition of the Gospels, and ordered him to recant a number of propositions which they had extracted from it; but the king checked their proceedings by a letter, in which he extolled Faber as the light of France, and forbade them to suppress his work.[11] The contests which Faber had to maintain about the three Magdalenes, as they were called, and the three husbands of St. Anne, the mother of the Virgin, which we look upon as so trivial, were in fact the battles which it behoved Truth to fight against blind submission

to human authority, before she could be permitted to contend on a larger field and for interests of greater magnitude. In the notes to his Exposition are to be found sentiments akin to those afterwards called Lutheran and Calvinistic, on predestination and grace, the eucharist, penance, and some other points, and which the Parisian divines censured as heretical, though later writers of the Romish communion have attempted to reconcile them with the Catholic faith.[12] But Faber gave still more deadly offence when he proceeded to lay open the fountain of truth to the people at large. A translation of the Bible into the French language had been printed soon after the invention of that wonderful art, which by the novelty of its charms attracted the patronage of rude princes and imposed upon the sagacity of a vigilant and interested priesthood. But the size of that version, with the rudeness of the language, prevented it at once from being dangerous to the clergy and profitable to the people. It was in the year 1523 that the French translation of the New Testament by Faber first made its appearance. The work was embodied in a French version of the whole Scriptures, of which several editions were printed at Antwerp. In an exhortatory epistle, prefixed to the second volume of the first edition, the translator says :—" It pleased the Divine goodness to inspire the noble hearts of certain illustrious ladies and princesses of the kingdom, with the Christian desire of having the New Testament printed for their edification, that the kingdom might become very Christian in fact as well as in name ; and it pleased them also that it should be revised and compared with the Latin

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on account of the faults, additions, and retrenchments to be found in former editions, which by the grace of God has been faithfully done." The translator goes on to say:—"Who will not esteem it becoming and proper for a saint to have the New Testament in his native tongue? What can be more necessary to life, not that of this world, but spiritual life? If in every religious order it is ordained that such as are ignorant of Latin should have their rule in the vulgar tongue, carry it about with them, commit it to memory, and explain it often in their chapters, much more reason is there that unlearned persons belonging to the Christian religion, which alone is necessary (for there can be only one thing necessary), should have their rule, which is the word of God, the Scripture full of grace and mercy. This Holy Scripture is the testament of Jesus Christ, the testament of our Father confirmed by His death, and by the blood of our redemption; and who will forbid the children to possess, look upon, and read the testament of their father? It is very expedient therefore that they should have it, should read and hear it, not once only, but ordinarily in the chapters of Jesus Christ—that is, the Churches, in which both unlearned and learned should assemble to hear and honour the sacred word of God. And such is the intention of our good king, in heart as well as in name very Christian, into whose hand God has put the government of so noble and excellent a kingdom, to the glory of the Father of mercy and of Jesus Christ his Son. This ought to give courage to all in this kingdom to profit in true Christianity, following, understanding, and believing

the life-giving word of God. 'And blessed be that hour when it shall come; and blessed be all those who contribute to hasten it, not only in this realm, but through all the world."

Language like this could not fail to be offensive and alarming to the clergy of that time. It sounded in their ears as a call to the Christian people to throw off that implicit subjection which they had hitherto yielded to their ghostly superiors, and to read and think for themselves in matters of faith and worship. They knew that it was impossible to defend many of the tenets and practices of their Church by an appeal to the Scriptures, and that the fallacy of those arguments by which they usually supported them would be detected by the perusal of a faithful version of the inspired oracles. The high patronage under which the new translation appeared, and the approbation given it by the learned, deterred them from instantly laying it under an interdict; but they raised an outcry of the danger of heresy; and in the same year in which Faber's version of the New Testament was published, the Sorbonne denounced as one of the errors of the Poor men of Lyons the proposition that laics as well as clergymen should be encouraged to study the sacred Scriptures.[13]

From the time that the new opinions began to spread the clergy turned an evil eye on literature, and sought to check it in every way within their power.[14] Their jealousy was peculiarly excited by the study of the original languages of the Bible. The Divines of the Sorbonne entered a complaint before the Parliament against Danes, Vatable, Paradisi, and Guidacier, the professors of Greek and Hebrew in the Royal College, for explaining the

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Scriptures from the original, and prohibited them from deviating in the slightest degree from the Vulgate translation.[15] Checked in the due use of their liberty the professors had recourse to the plan of circulating their criticisms on passages of Scripture in private among their students, who, on that account, received them with the greater avidity. The notes of Vatable, which Robert Stephen affixed to his Latin Bible of 1545, were most probably procured in this way. Men of letters, who saw the necessity of making common interest, revenged themselves on the clergy, by exposing their ignorance, avarice, and luxury.[16] In particular, the poets and wits of the age, availing themselves of their prescriptive privileges, held up the hypocrisy and superstition of the priests, particularly the monks, to ridicule, and spoke favourably of the Reformers in their light but popular satires. Of the extent to which this practice was carried we have an example in a mock tragedy acted with applause at Paris in the year 1524, within the palace and in the presence of Francis I., in which the Pope and cardinals were represented as seated round what had been a large fire, but was buried in ashes; and Reuchlin, Erasmus, Hutten, and Luther were successively introduced, who, after appropriate speeches, stirred the fire until it kindled into a blaze, which his Holiness could not extinguish either by the help of the inquisitors of heretical pravity, or by his own curses and excommunications.[17] The divines of Paris met in grave congregation to detect the heresies of Wickliffe and Luther in songs, ballads, and rondeaux.[18]

These lighter sallies were followed by serious

attacks on the doctrine and authority of the Church, made from the press and sometimes from the pulpit.

In enumerating the causes which contributed to the spread of the Reformed opinions in France, it would be improper to overlook the remains of the Waldenses, who still subsisted in great numbers in Languedoc and Provence, and in those parts of Savoy which were subject to the French monarchy. The clergy had endeavoured to incite Louis XII. to exterminate this peaceful race by representing them as sorcerers, incestuous persons, and heretics; but on their demanding an investigation of their conduct, the Master of Requests and the King's Confessor were sent to inquire into the truth of the charges laid against them. They reported that the Waldenses baptized their infants, were taught the Creed and the Decalogue, kept the Lord's day religiously, and were free from all sorcery and whoredom; but that no images or ornaments of the Mass were to be found in their churches. "And are these the people against whom you would have had a hasty judgment pronounced?" exclaimed his Majesty on hearing this report. "Nay! by God, these men are better than I and the rest of my people."[19] The Waldenses had been taught by dear-bought experience to keep themselves as retired as possible; but they had disciples scattered through almost every part of France who were prepared to listen to the Reformed doctrine; and accordingly those of Provence, having sent deputies to converse with the divines of Basle, Berne, Neuchatel, and Strasburg, candidly corrected certain abuses which had crept in among them, particularly their frequenting of Mass,—a piece of conformity to the popish wor-

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ship which they had been induced to yield with the view of allaying the suspicions of their superstitious neighbours, and procuring the connivance of the priests at their separate assemblies.[20] In consequence of this they coalesced with the Reformed body, and it was at their expense that the version of the Bible, afterwards used by all the French Protestants and those of the same tongue in Switzerland, was first printed.[21]

Another circumstance which had great influence on the spread of the Reformed doctrine in France is to be found in the favourable dispositions of certain persons belonging to the Court. Due weight is given to this fact by the Sorbonne in an answer to the queen-mother, who, as regent of the kingdom during the absence of Francis I., had consulted it as to the best means of rooting out the Lutheran heresy. It occupies a prominent place in that document in which the divines complain that their censures of erroneous books, including, besides Luther's, those of Faber and Berquin, had not been supported and carried into execution by the civil authorities. "It seems to the said faculty that the chief cause of the propagation of this heresy, not only throughout this kingdom, but, as is said, in other countries, is, that many great persons, before they sufficiently understood the matter, praised the doctrine, if the common report be true, at Court, and found fault with those who censured and condemned it."[22] Among the persons here accused were, as we have seen, ladies; and at their head was no less a person than Margaret of Valois, only sister to the reigning monarch.[23] This princess, who, after the death of her first husband,

the Duke of Alençon, had married Henry d'Albret, king of Navarre, and who, on account of her distinguished talents, obtained from her contemporaries the name of the Tenth Muse, exerted an influence over the mind of her brother, which counteracted greatly the power of the clergy, and of that determined enemy of the Reformers, the Chancellor Du Prat, "a man who, by a base prostitution of great talents and of superior skill in his profession, had risen to that high office."[24]

In the year 1523 the divines of Paris complain loudly of the liberties taken in questioning the sacred doctrines and approved practices of the Church. "Some at this time are not afraid," say they, "to vent the poison of their impiety by means of pestilent books and dangerous preaching. They impiously assert that we ought not to pray to the saints, nor do them any honour, except perhaps by loving and imitating them. The relics of the saints, their miracles, images, and deeds they mock, deride, and despise; and not content with refusing the honour due to them, they hinder others from paying it. They depreciate the sacred canon of the Mass as an old garment patched up with various shreds, because it was composed and enlarged by different authors, not considering that this objection applies equally to the divine Scriptures. These insane men speak unworthily of the temporalities assigned to those who celebrate the divine mysteries, though Christ has told us that the labourer is worthy of his hire, and they that serve at the altar should live by the altar. Regardless of apostolical tradition, they condemn the pious offerings made for the relief of the living and the dead, as well as the Office of the

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dead. They grant liberty to unlearned persons to explain the Scriptures according to their pleasure, to dispute about matters of faith, to call assemblies and hold conventicles. How much soever these pestiferous dogmas differ from one another, yet they all proceed from the same source, and are a revival of the execrable and condemned errors of the Bohemians, Turlepins, Waldenses, and ancient heretics."[25] The doctors of the Sorbonne were furnished with daily employment in the way of examining and censuring the new opinions. "The Virgin ought not to be addressed as the mother of mercy, the queen of heaven, our life and hope; nor did she merit bearing the Son of God." "This proposition is erroneous and scandalous, and comes from the Waldenses, Cathari, and Bohemians," said the divines of the Sorbonne. "The bones of the saints, instead of being exhibited in churches, should be buried in the hope of the resurrection." "Another blasphemy of the same heretics," replied the divines. "It is superstitious to think that one saint heals one disease more than another, and the opinion arose at first from the resemblance which their names bore to certain cures or disorders, as St. Ficarius to a fig, and St. Eutropius to the dropsy." "An impious tenet derived from Porphyry and Eunomius," rejoined the zealous doctors. "A certain pontiff who laboured under the stone and gravel added Cosmas and Damian to the canon of the Mass." "A proposition beyond measure impious, irreverent, and foolish,—contumelious not only to the holy fathers who composed the canon, but to the universal Church which has approved it, the spawn of the foresaid heretics," replied the divines, choked with

anger at the indecent insinuation. "When Luther writes well," said some, "nobody hath written better." "This," replied the Sorbonne, "is false, impious to the holy doctors, and an impudent and lying testimony in favour of the execrable doctrine of Luther." "The office for the dead is suspicious, and cannot be easily defended by Scripture." "This doubt," said the Sorbonnists, "is impious, schismatical, and borrowed from the heresy of the Arians, and Albigenses." "The books of the Maccabees do not belong to the canon, and were not approved by the Church." "A rash and false assertion," replied the Parisian doctors, "for the Church does hold these books for canonical."[26]

The first open attempt to introduce a real reform into the Church of France was made at Meaux, and in this instance, at least, there was no room for the charge of irregularity, on which the supporters of existing abuses are so fond of dwelling. It was made under the immediate direction of the ordinary of the diocese; but it did not on that account prove the less offensive, as is always the case when opposition, though professedly directed against the measures employed, takes its rise from hatred or antipathy to the object which they are used to accomplish. William Briçonnet, a prelate, equally eminent for his rank and character, had, during his studies at Paris, imbibed a portion of the Reformed doctrine, along with the love of polite letters; and in 1521, soon after his translation from the see of Loudun to that of Meaux, felt a strong desire to promote evangelical knowledge among the people of his charge. Finding the monks, the only preachers of that time, glaringly unfit for the task which they

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had undertaken, he intimated to them that he would dispense with their services, and mounted the pulpit himself. The novelty of this spectacle attracted attention, and drew multitudes to hear him. Though he had been better qualified for the task than could be expected from a nobleman who had spent a great part of his time at the Court, and in the palaces of churchmen who lived like princes,[27] the labours of any individual could be but of small benefit to a large population ignorant of the very first principles of Christianity. To supply this defect he called to his aid certain Parisian divines of good principles, amongst whom were his aged preceptor Faber, William Farel, a regent in the College of Lemoine, and Martial Mesurier and Gerard Ruffi, two doctors of theology. The success of these missionaries answered to their zeal and assiduity. While some of them taught in public, others provided the means of private instruction. The bishop printed and circulated at his own expense portions of Scripture translated into French by Faber, particularly the Psalter, and a book called the Epistles and Gospels, according to the usage of Meaux, consisting of those passages of the New Testament which were read in Latin in the service of the Church, accompanied with short exhortations.[28] These proceedings gave great alarm to the members of the Sorbonne, who instigated the offended monks of Meaux to complain to the court, and the bishop, being summoned into the presence of the monarch and sharply reprimanded, lost courage, desisted from his measures of improvement, and dismissed his reforming coadjutors. Mesurier, who had had no small share in shaking

the resolution of the bishop, made his peace with the Sorbonne, and died a canon and penitentiary of Paris.[29] Farel, after endeavouring for some time to disseminate the truth secretly in France,[30] was forced to retire into Switzerland, where we shall find him labouring with distinguished success; Faber, along with some others,[31] took refuge in Béarn; and Ruffi obtained, under the patronage of the Queen of Navarre, a bishopric, and continued to promote the Reformed doctrine without formally quitting the communion of the Church of Rome.[32] Notwithstanding the dispersion of the labourers, the seed sown at Meaux sprang up at a subsequent period, and was plentifully watered by the blood of martyrs, while in the meantime it was scattered by the fugitives over France, and introduced into Senlis, Aubigné, Orleans, Metz, and many other places.[33] 1523.

The unsuccessful exertions of Briçonnet remind us, by way of contrast, of the conduct of one of his successors in the see of Meaux, who, at a later period, employed his great talents and lavished his splendid eloquence on the task of artfully shading the deformities of the Church of Rome, and drawing a distorted portrait of the Reformed Church, at a time when the latter was exposed to a persecution the more galling that it was carried on under the hypocritical pretext of converting the Protestants by argument, and with the view of paving the way for one of the foulest acts of perfidy ever perpetrated by civil or ecclesiastical tyranny, in the revocation of an edict which had been solemnly and repeatedly ratified—a deed which was followed by a long course of national degradation, and which, by the

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righteous retribution of heaven, has been signally and awfully avenged within our own memory.

When suppressed at Meaux, the light of evangelical truth burst forth in other parts of the kingdom. At Lyons, and at Grenoble, Maigret, a Dominican friar, and doctor of theology, boldly attacked the leading errors of Popery, and it was not until his opinions had taken root in both these cities, that he consulted his safety by flying into Germany.[34] One of the charges against Maigret was that he had said, "He is a slanderer who says that Luther is a bad man." Similar freedoms were taken by a German preacher at Alençon and Bourges.[35]

The Sorbonnists found themselves braved under the very walls of their stronghold by Peter Caroli. This monk was accused by them of introducing "a new mode of preaching, by reading from the pulpit the epistle to the Romans, instead of a sermon, while by his direction both men and women brought to church the epistles of Paul, newly translated, as they call it, into the vulgar tongue, and others brought the Latin Bible and the Angelical Salutation constructed after a new form." Caroli defended himself with great spirit and address. The Faculty prohibited him from preaching in the diocese of Paris, "where he had no charge of souls, but had intruded himself, being, it is said, hired by the Lutheran faction." By challenging some of his judges, including the Syndic Beda, and by appealing first to the parliament and afterwards to the episcopal court, he contrived to protract his trial several months, during which he preached to large audiences in different churches. Having exhausted

the arts of delay, he offered to desist from preaching, provided the Faculty would allow him to finish the exposition of the twenty-second Psalm. This they refused, but consented that he should deliver a valedictory lecture to his audience; instead of which he caused the following placard to be posted up: "Peter Caroli, wishing to yield to the admonitions of the Sacred Faculty, intermits his lectures, to be resumed when God shall please, and to begin at the words where he left off—*They pierced my hands and my feet.*" On hearing of this, the divines, who had hitherto been restrained by their knowledge that he was favoured by certain persons of rank, proceeded to a formal condemnation of his doctrine.[36]

Irritated by the open avowal and rapid spread of the new opinions, the clergy determined to suppress them by violent measures. The divines of Paris reiterated their fulminations, and moved heaven and earth against those who polluted the soil of France with their execrable heresies. They pronounced a formal censure on the books published at Meaux, which they extended to all vernacular translations of the Bible, "as inexpedient and useless, and in the circumstances of the time pernicious;" they called in the aid of inquisitors of the faith, and procured the ratification of their prohibitory censures by the Parliament of Paris.[37] To give greater weight to these proceedings, and to prepare for open persecution, the new opinions were condemned by two provincial Councils, held by the Archbishops of Sens and Bourges.[38]

The first martyr[39] to the Reformed faith in France (unless we include John Le Clerc, who suffered earlier

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at Metz) was James Pavanes, a native of Boulogne, and a young man of excellent talents and character. He was one of the preachers employed by Briçonnet to evangelise his diocese; and having declined or neglected to secure his safety upon the change of affairs at Meaux, was seized and arraigned for contradicting the doctrine of the Church on the eucharist. Swayed by the advice of his more aged colleague, Martial Mesurier, who urged that the matter in dispute was not of sufficient importance to be put in competition with his life, Pavanes was persuaded to make a public recantation; but from that moment he enjoyed no peace of mind until he avowed that his sentiments remained unchanged; upon which he was sentenced to be burnt alive as a relapsed heretic. This punishment he bore with great fortitude, in the year 1525, at Paris, in the Place de Grève.[40] His death was the signal for similar executions in the capital and throughout the provinces. The most distinguished of the sufferers was Louis Berquin, whom we have already mentioned as a translator of some of the works of the German Reformers. He was a young gentleman of Artois, a king's councillor, and possessed of such rare talents and learning as would have made him the Luther of his native country, provided he had found in Francis I. a Frederick of Saxony. His rank and influence rendered him a formidable adversary to the clergy, whose hatred he had lately provoked by his powerful defence of Erasmus against the attacks of Beda and De Huren. Twice they were defeated in a prosecution against him for heresy, in consequence of the royal authority being interposed in his favour. In 1523

he was thrown into the prison of the Conciergerie, and his writings were referred to the judgment of the theological Faculty, but though its verdict was unfavourable, the Parliament, aware of his interest at Court, released him. Having published a defence of himself and of Erasmus, the process against him was renewed two years after, and would have been carried to extremity had not the King, on his return from Spain, ordered him to be set at liberty, and taken the cause under his own cognisance. Erasmus advised him to rest satisfied with his triumph, and to leave the kingdom until the rage of the defeated theologians should subside; but the high spirit of Berquin, and perhaps his confidence in the protection of the Court, led him to reject this prudential advice. He attacked Beda with great spirit, and exposed his blunders and blasphemies, in consequence of which the King wrote to the theological Faculty to examine the writings of their colleague. This proved fatal to Berquin. Watching their opportunity, the clergy renewed the prosecution against him the third time; and by artful importunities, addressed through the Queen-mother, obtained from Francis (whose desire to accomplish his ambitious projects often overcame his feelings of humanity and partiality to men of letters), that the cause of Berquin should be removed from the court which had formerly tried it, and be submitted to judges chosen by the Pope, or, in other words, by the prosecutors of the accused. The new judges decided that in token of recantation he should burn his books with his own hand, have his tongue perforated with a hot iron, and be imprisoned for life. Declaring that

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he would die sooner than submit to such a sentence, he appealed to the King and Pope, upon which his judges, meeting next day, condemned him, as contumacious, to the flames; and lest any application should be made in his favour to his Majesty, who was then at Blois, the sentence was executed without delay on the — day of April 1529, in Paris, at the Place de Maubert, where, after being strangled, his body was consumed in the fire. If Berquin had suffered himself at a former period to be buoyed up with confidence in the protection of the Court, he showed in the end that he was prepared to meet his death.[41] His behaviour in the last trying scene is thus described by Erasmus from the information of an intelligent eye-witness :—"He exhibited no symptom of fear, either in his countenance or by his gestures. You would have thought he was studying in his closet, or meditating on divine things in the church. During the time that the executioner was proclaiming with a savage voice his crime and punishment, he remained unmoved. When ordered to descend from the hurdle, he came down at once with a firm step. There was nothing of that audacity or fierceness about him which malefactors sometimes display on such occasions; the tranquillity inspired by a good conscience shone through his whole conduct. Before his death he addressed the spectators, but nobody could hear a single word for the noise made by the guards, intentionally it is supposed. When his body was thrown into the fire, not one in the crowd uttered the word *Jesus*, an invocation commonly made for parricides and sacrilegious persons; so much had the minds of all been inflamed against

him by those who exert an absolute authority over the simple and unlearned.[42] A certain Franciscan waited upon him, of whom Montius (Erasmus' informant) inquired if Berquin at his death had confessed his errors. He replied in the affirmative, adding, that he entertained no doubt of his soul having entered into rest.[43] But," continues Erasmus, "I put no faith in the testimony of the Franciscan, especially as it is a common thing among these people to spread the report after the death of a heretic, that he had recanted at the stake."[44]

Such was the state of the Reformed cause in France when it was embraced by Calvin. The number of its declared adherents was small and contemptible. Many were secretly favourable to it, but no person of rank or consideration had appeared openly on its side. Its enemies were determined to crush it; the existing laws were favourable to their design; and they had succeeded in overcoming the reluctance which the King had testified to abet their violent measures, and in inflaming the multitude with a fanatical zeal against all who deviated in the slightest degree from the established faith, whom they were pleased to stigmatise as heretics. A person of respectable connections, and whose prospects in life were fair, if not flattering, could have no worldly temptation to leave the established, or as it was then regarded, the Catholic Church; and considerations which operate the most powerfully on the human mind, combined in exacting from him the most serious deliberation before adopting a course which to appearances was all but desperate. If youthful ardour had led him at first to cherish sanguine hopes of the triumph of the new

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opinions, the tragical scenes which had lately passed before his eyes, and their effect in shaking the confidence of the most forward, were sufficient to dispel the delusion; or if he had too hastily adopted the plausible doctrine of the Reformers, and imparted his sentiments incautiously to his confidential friends, he had still time to pause before taking the decisive step, and avowedly leaving the communion of the established, and as it was then deemed, Catholic Church.

The precise time at which the religious opinions of Calvin underwent that change which had such an important influence on his future life, cannot be clearly and certainly ascertained. His earliest biographer evidently supposes that it was prior to his commencing the study of law, as he assigns it as a reason for his complying more readily with his father's wishes on that point; and the authority of Beza has not unreasonably been acquiesced in by subsequent writers. According to this supposition the change must have taken place as early at least as the year 1528, and consequently in the nineteenth year of his age. But I strongly suspect that the event happened some years later. These suspicions do not rest merely on the fact that his first publication was dedicated to a dignitary of the Roman Church, and indicates a mind engrossed with classical and profane studies.[45] Nine letters, written by him between the years 1528 and 1532, have been preserved. They are addressed to persons who are known to have adopted the Protestant sentiments about the same time with himself. They are confidential letters, and it is scarcely possible that a

young man, writing to his fellow-students and companions, with whom he was on a footing of the most perfect intimacy, and while adverting, with all the ease of epistolary correspondence, to a variety of topics suggested by their personal intercourse, should have failed, if he had then embraced the Reformed doctrines, to drop some hints relating to a subject which, from its intrinsic importance, and still more from the circumstances of the time, must have been deeply interesting to him, and occupied his thoughts by night and by day; yet nothing of this kind is to be found in them. CHAP. II. 1533.

But though there is no good evidence of his having embraced the Reformation until 1533, we have reason to think that his attention had been called to the subject at a much earlier period. From the noise which the new opinions made in the capital, the discussions to which they led in the theological Faculty, and above all from the sufferings to which they subjected a person of such note as Berquin, they must have formed the topic of frequent conversation among the more advanced students in the University of Paris. It is agreed on all hands that his relation, Peter Robert Olivetan or D'Olivet, the translator of the Bible, was a principal instrument in enlightening his mind, by recommending to him the serious perusal of the Scriptures,[46] and it is highly probable that he had received this advice before he left Paris to commence the study of jurisprudence. At Orleans he lodged in the same house with a German Protestant,[47] and at Bourges his Greek preceptor and several of his fellow-students were of the same persuasion. Their conversation and the disputes

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which arose opened his eyes to some of the abuses in the Church, but without shaking his attachment to the Romish creed. He has himself told us that he was wedded to the prevailing religion with an obstinacy beyond his years.[48] Constitutionally inclined to devotion, the superstitious notions in which he had been educated had taken a firm hold of his mind, and resisted the utmost strength of argument. At length he met with a teacher who addressed himself to his conscience as well as to his understanding, arraigned him at the bar of God as a sinner, and convicted him of the utter worthlessness of his own righteousness, though aided by the intercessions of every creature on earth or in heaven. Once persuaded of the doctrine of justification by faith, his prejudices gave way, his mind became accessible to the force of truth, and the motley system of voluntary penances, lustrations, pardons, and indulgences, with the human authority on which they rested, and by which he had hitherto been mysteriously fettered and spell-bound, melted from his view, "like the baseless fabric of a vision," leaving "not a wreck behind." His conversion to God and his dereliction of the Roman Church took place at the same time.

The following eloquent passage in his answer to Cardinal Sadolet was intended as a general vindication of those who had felt themselves constrained to secede from the communion of the Church of Rome, but, as the principal lines in it were evidently drawn from his own experience, it may be fairly quoted as a description of what he felt at the period of which we now write, and of the reasons by which he was determined in making the inter-

esting change. "Thou knowest, O God, that I always professed the Christian religion, as taught from my infancy, but the grounds of my faith formerly were no other than those which were common to all at that time. Thy word, which ought to shine as a lamp before all Thy people, was then either taken from us altogether or suppressed; and, to prevent any from inquiring after it, the opinion was sedulously instilled into our minds that the right of investigating the mysteries of heavenly philosophy had been wisely intrusted to a few, whom others should consult as an oracle, and that the common people, instead of aspiring after knowledge, will find it safer to yield an implicit submission to the dictates of the Church. What I was taught served neither to instruct me how to worship Thee aright, nor to guide me to a stable hope of salvation, nor to form me for the duties of the Christian life. I was told, indeed, to acknowledge Thee only as my God, but, being left in ignorance of the true way of serving Thee, I stumbled at the threshold. I believed, as taught, that I was redeemed by the death of Thy Son from obnoxiousness to eternal death, but then the redemption which I conceived was one whose virtue I could not at all reach; I looked forward to a future resurrection, but the thought of it inspired me with horror. This was not a bondage engendered by my own private views, but the native fruit of the doctrine everywhere taught by the guides of the people. They preached indeed Thy mercy to men, but it was to those who made themselves worthy of it, not to the miserable. They placed a merit in the righteousness of works, and taught that those would

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at last be received into Thy favour who reconciled themselves to Thee by their good deeds. In the meantime they did not conceal from us that we were miserable sinners, who often fall through the infirmity of the flesh, and that Thy mercy was the only gate of salvation for all, but then they inculcated at the same time that we could not obtain this blessing without making satisfaction for our sins, by confessing them without reserve to a priest, and begging absolution by compensating our transgressions by good works, by daily penances and sacrifices to atone for what was defective in these good works; and in fine, as Thou art a severe judge and dreadful to approach, by having recourse to the saints and employing their intercession to render Thee placable and propitious. I tried all these methods, but without obtaining relief or peace of mind. As often as I looked into myself, or attempted to lift my eyes to Thee, O God, I was filled with a dread which no penances or satisfactions of mine could mitigate. The more narrowly I inspected myself, the deeper did the sting enter into my conscience, so that at last I could find no ease but by steeping my mind in forgetfulness. When I was in this state a doctrine altogether different from what I had been accustomed to hear began to be promulgated. It did not lead men away from the principles of Christianity, but directed them to the pure fountain from which they flowed. Offended at its novelty, I was with great difficulty prevailed on to listen to it. At first, I confess, I resisted it resolutely, being unwilling to acknowledge that I had spent my life in ignorance and error. The reverence for the Church in which I

had been trained was a chief hindrance. But when I opened my mind to conviction I found that my fears for the honour of the Church were vain, and that there was a wide difference between leaving the Church and endeavouring to reform her from the corruptions by which she had become infected. The teachers of this doctrine spoke honourably of the Church, and testified great anxiety to preserve her unity. And lest it should seem that they used the word sophistically, they showed by numerous examples that it was no new thing for antichrists to usurp the place of true pastors, and that in seeking to promote the improvement of the Church, they only trode in the footsteps of those whom we acknowledged as saints. When accused of inveighing against the Roman pontiff, whom we revered as the vicar of Christ, the successor of Peter, and the prince of the Church, they replied that he attained his height of power during times of ignorance, when the world was drowned in a deep sleep, by usurpation, and not by any authority of the Word of God, or lawful call of the Church, and that his primacy was established on the ruins of ecclesiastical order and discipline, Christian liberty, and the best interests of the kingdom of Christ. Lest I should be disposed to connive at these corruptions as things not pertaining to me, they put it to my conscience if the countenancing of known error could be innocent, when even those who were seduced through ignorance were exposed to danger according to our Lord's declaration: 'If the blind lead the blind both fall into the ditch!' When my awakened attention was seriously fixed on these things I saw, as if by a lamp introduced

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into my mind, the sink of errors in which I had been wallowing, and the foul stains which I had contracted. Acknowledging, as I justly might, the misery in which I was plunged, and the infinitely greater misery to which I was exposed by liability to eternal death, I bewailed my former life with tears and groans, and betook myself to Thy way. And now, Lord, what remains for me, wretched that I am, but that, laying aside all vain excuses, I humbly deprecate Thy entering into judgment with me for my horrible defection from Thy word, from which Thou hast all at once delivered me in Thy marvellous kindness."[49]

A new direction was now given to his pursuits: the study of law was at first prosecuted with relaxed energy, and in a short time entirely laid aside.[50] Calvin was no enthusiast. Deeply as he was convinced of the truth of the Reformed doctrine, and of its importance to the salvation of men, he did not give way to the first impressions of a warm proselyte by becoming a preacher of the faith which he had embraced. Reflecting on his early destination to the Church and the place he actually held in it, he could scarce fail to be impressed with the idea that he lay under some kind of obligation to serve God by propagating a purer and more salutary doctrine than that which was everywhere taught by the authorised leaders of the people. But besides his natural fondness for retirement and study, he had the penetration to see that the circumstances of the Protestant party, both in his native country and abroad, rendered it of great importance that those who undertook the office of public teachers in it should be thoroughly grounded

in its doctrines, and capable of defending them. The first fervour by which the Reformers were animated had suffered an abatement; the insurrection of the Boors, and the extravagant tenets of the Anabaptists in Germany, had raised a prejudice against their cause, which was still more deeply injured by the dissension between the divines of Saxony and Switzerland on the subject of the eucharist; while the Catholic princes, instigated by the Court of Rome, were planning simultaneous, though not combined, measures for the suppression of the new opinions. Awakened from their false security, and convinced that Papal excommunications and theological censures no longer produced the same effect as formerly, the clergy had begun to employ means more suited to the character of the age for reconciling the minds of men to their authority, and supporting the rights of their order. A stop was put to the sale of indulgences, learned men were no longer branded as heretics, they were allowed to purchase the liberty of pursuing their favourite studies by abstaining from any open attack on the doctrines of the Church; and some of them, such as Erasmus, had been prevailed on to take the field against the Protestants, and to signalise themselves, at least on some points, as the champions of the Church. The writings, expository and controversial, of Luther and other early Reformers, though admirably adapted to the time in which they had appeared, and calculated to expose the dangerous errors which had long prevailed, and to awaken indignation in Christians at the gross impositions which had been practised upon them, yet laboured under evident

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defects; something more exact, more profound, more methodical and better digested, was required by altered circumstances, and by the illumination produced in men's minds by those very means which were now felt to be inadequate.

Influenced by such considerations, Calvin secluded himself from company, and devoted his time to the improvement of his mind and the acquisition of knowledge by reading and meditation. The sacred writings, with which for some time back he had been familiar, he now examined with the most critical attention, and in addition to the controversial writings of the age, read the works of the Christian fathers to ascertain their exact sentiments, and gain possession of whatever was most excellent in them. In this employment he was very careful to prevent interruptions. With this view it was his practice, after an early and light supper, to continue his studies till midnight, and on awakening in the morning to meditate in bed on what he had read the preceding evening, and digest it in his mind, by which means he acquired a most retentive memory, and an extensive store of solid knowledge, though this unwearied application produced a debility in his stomach which laid the foundation of those disorders which afflicted him through life, and brought on a premature death.[51]

The ardour with which he pursued his studies did not prevent him from associating with his brethren of the same faith, and attending their private meetings in the places where he resided. At Orleans and at Bourges there were not a few converts to the Protestant faith, including several of his intimate acquaintance. In the circumstances

in which they were placed, destitute as they often were of teachers, and burning with thirst for Scriptural knowledge, it would have been criminal and even cruel in him to have "wrapped his talent in a napkin," and refused to impart to them the benefit of the gift which he had received. The share which he took in their religious exercises soon discovered his talents, and caused him to be sought out in a manner which, though painful to him, as interfering with his favourite object, he found it impossible altogether to resist. The extent and solidity of his knowledge, joined to an unaffected and manly style, so uncommon in a person of his years, filled all who heard him with admiration; and his opinion was sought for from various parts of France. He was even consulted along with the first Reformers on the celebrated question of the marriage of Henry VIII.[52] During a visit to Bourges, he was carried by his friends to some of the neighbouring castles and bourgades, particularly that of De Linierès, whose noble inmates listened with pleasure to his instructions. "At least," said De Linierès, one day after hearing him expound, "this young man gives us something we have not heard before."[53]

In autumn 1533, Calvin returned to Paris, and took up his residence in the College of Fortrat. He was introduced to, and cordially welcomed by the friends of the Reformed religion in the capital, both foreigners[54] and natives, who had now greatly increased, and were to be found in the University and even in the Sorbonne, the bulwark of Catholicism. They met privately for mutual encouragement and instruction, and their meetings were often

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held in the house of Étienne de la Forge, a celebrated merchant, who expended his great fortune in charity and in the translation of the Scriptures, and to whose memory Calvin paid a public tribute after his martyrdom.[55] The Queen of Navarre had incurred the resentment of the clergy by her partiality to the Reformers, and the success with which she had repeatedly interposed on their behalf with her royal brother. By her persuasion Parvi, Bishop of Senlis, and king's confessor, had caused the *Hours* to be printed in French, after excluding from them the most superstitious passages; and she herself had published a poem entitled "The Mirror of a Sinful Soul," in which no mention was made of saints, male or female, or of merit, or of any purgatory, but the blood of Christ; and the prayer to the Virgin was addressed to the Saviour. This poem the Sorbonne included among the prohibited books; and soon after they caused a comedy to be acted by the boys of the College of Navarre, in which the Queen was lampooned and held up to ridicule. Francis was greatly irritated by this repeated indignity offered to his sister, whose heroic devotion to him during his captivity in Spain had increased the attachment which he always felt for her; the actors in the play, with their prompters, were sought and obliged to make a humiliating apology. The University being called together disowned all knowledge of the censure pronounced against the Queen's books, and devolved the responsibility upon the divines, some of whom were imprisoned, and Beda, the most turbulent, banished from Paris.[56] At the same time intimation was made to the theological Faculty that his Majesty

had g[illegible] diploma to Bellay, Bishop of Paris, a prela[illegible]ished by his moderation and liberal views, a[illegible] him to nominate the preachers to the c[illegible]rish churches, a privilege which formerly [illegible] the members of the Sorbonne, who had [illegible]e who had no other recommendation tha[illegible] zeal and empty declamation.[57]

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These d[illegible] mortified the pride of the clergy, and [illegible]e Reformers with courage. Among the [illegible]h whom Calvin had been intimate was [illegible]p, the son of the king's physician,[58] a y[illegible] of spirit, who, in the year 1533, was rect[illegible] University of Paris. It was part of the [illegible] person who held this office to deliver a[illegible] annually, in the presence of the professors a[illegible]s, at the Feast of All Saints in the beg[illegible] November. Calvin assisted his friend in [illegible] the address on this occasion, and some t[illegible] introduced into it expressive of the sentim[illegible] both as to the corruptions of the Churc[illegible] might have been borne or overlooked [illegible] another time, but the divines, sore with their [illegible]t, and eager to revenge themselves on th[illegible] for the part he had taken against them [illegible] prosecution, complained of the speech as [illegible] and savouring of heresy, and obtained [illegible] order from the Parliament to seize the rect[illegible] his suspected adviser. Cop delivered himself [illegible] officers of justice, but being admonished [illegible] the way of the danger to which he was exposed, made his escape and retired into Switzerland. [illegible] straight to Calvin's lodgings, the officers searched his chamber in his absence, and carried off his papers, in con-

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sequence of which several of his friends [illegible]ght into perilous circumstances. But th[illegible] was allayed by the influence of the Que[illegible]arre, who sent for Calvin to the palace a[illegible]d him honourably.[59] He judged it prud[illegible]ver to leave the capital for a time, and ret[illegible]ntonge, where he was not idle. At the [illegible] a friend he drew up a paper containin[illegible] Christian exhortations, which was given to [illegible]ish priests to be read during divine serv[illegible] the view of leading the people gradually [illegible]quire after the truth.[60] During his stay in t[illegible]f the country he made converts of seve[illegible]ons, afterwards eminent in the Reformed C[illegible]hong whom was Augustin Marlorat, who wa[illegible]ed by the orders of the Duke of Guise wi[illegible] year after he had appeared at the Confe[illegible]f Poissy. From Saintonge he went to N[illegible] visit the celebrated Faber, who had resid[illegible]hat place since his dismissal from Meau[illegible] venerable old man listened to his conve[illegible] with deep interest, and after his departure [illegible]s friends: "Calvin will be a distinguished [illegible]ent in restoring the kingdom of God in [illegible][61] Faber survived this interview several [illegible][62] His history affords a striking example [illegible]use which Providence makes of persons par[illegible]lightened for advancing its important des[illegible]ich, humanly speaking, would have been m[illegible]y those of greater intelligence, acting consc[illegible]ly according to their light. His mind seem[illegible]ve been at an early period impressed wi[illegible] approaching revolution in religion, as appear[illegible]his saying to Farel, one of his pupils in the y[illegible]: "William, the world must undergo

a change, and you will live to see it;" and yet [illegible] time, while suffering persecution from the So[illegible] for the freedom he used in the interpretation of Scripture, he was employed in strewing flowers on the image of the Virgin, and no man was more devout in hearing mass. Even during the time that he was diffusing instruction in the diocese of Meaux his mind was not extricated from the superstitious notions in which he had been educated. But when he was forced to leave France, his old pupil meeting him at Strasburg, put him in mind of his former prediction, and asked him if he did not think it was now accomplished, to which he answered in the affirmative, and exhorted him to persevere in preaching the gospel.[63]

Notice has already been taken of the livings which Calvin's father procured for him during his minority. On the 5th of July 1529 he exchanged his benefice as parish pri[illegible] of St. Martin [illegible] ville for that of Pont l[illegible] his father. On the 8[illegible] forward resigned the chaplainship of [illegible] him to be found Anthony, but resigned [illegible] city, after a diligent [illegible].[64] Whatever [illegible] very far from being pre-exchanges [illegible] favour; a circumstance proper to be [illegible] as bearing on certain calumnious charges which were fabricated after his death, and will be noticed in a subsequent part of this work. To these may be added a few facts respecting his relations taken from the same sources. His elder brother Charles was parson of Roupy, in the vicinity of Noyon. He is represented as a person of slender intellect, and addicted to brawls, for which he was more than once called to account by the ecclesiasti-

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had arisen among the chaplains as to their right to certain perquisites; and that the complaint, at least in so far as it referred to John Calvin, who at both the terms specified was studying at Paris, involved nothing relating to moral character, is evident from this circumstance, that the Chapter before which it was tried accepted, a few months after, a presentation in his favour to be curé of Marteville.[65] The Popish writers exclaim, though with little consistency, against his non-residence and negligence in performing the duty attached to the situations which he held. These were indeed great abuses, but they arose out of the preposterous and unnatural custom of the times. If he had remained at home, he might indeed have appeared among the chaplains in the Cathedral of Noyon, but what duty could he have performed as parish priest of Marteville, or Pont l'Évêque? He could [illegible] say mass, [illegible] celebrate the sacraments, [illegible] employment of priests [illegible] mple tonsure, [illegible] d any sacred [illegible] count of his [illegible] ld discharge [illegible] uty, and it [illegible] was not [illegible] of

in favour of William du Bois, or accordi
another account, a relation of his own n
Caim.[67]

Whether Calvin was present at Noyon du
these transactions does not appear from the dc
ments; but we know that he paid a visit to
native city about this time, and that he was n
idle. His friends tell us that he preached son
sermons at Pont l'Évêque, which were highl
esteemed. His enemies say that he spent his time
in endeavouring to poison the minds of his relations
and acquaintances with his heretical doctrine. It
is certain that he made not a few converts to the
Reformed faith, including, besides those of his own
family, the two persons to whom he had resigned
his benefices, Henry Collemont, a canon of the
Cathedral, and —— de Normandie, civil lieutenant
for the King, and Mayor of Noyon, all of
either followed him on his leaving Franc
him at a later period.[68]

The facts which
comprehend everythin
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urt. In 1534, one of the Chapter was ap-
ed to speak with him "as secretly as possible,"
arn if he intended to defend the erroneous
osition which he had advanced, and to advise
at should be done after his answer; and at his
th, on the 31st of October 1537, he was denied
e rites of sepulture, and buried at night under the
ur pillars of the gibbet, because he refused to
ceive the sacraments on his deathbed.[69] His
younger brother, Anthony, who is allowed by the
annalists of Noyon to have been a person of superior
understanding and character to Charles, held a
chapel at Travercy, a village seven leagues distant
from the city of Noyon, and was the bosom friend
of the Reformer, to whom he attached himself during
life.[70] His two sisters were married; the one re-
mained in her native place; the other, whose name
ry, followed her brother to Geneva.[71]

te of matters in Paris encouraged Calvin
the course of the year 1534. Under
n of Navarre, Gerard
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ult, preached the
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tinued to promote evangelical doctrine and reform, so far as was compatible with his remaining in communion with the Church of Rome. Nothing but the protection of the Court of Navarre could have enabled him to retain his bishopric, as he was regarded as a heretic by the French clergy. He published a catechism or familiar exposition of the creed, decalogue, and Lord's prayer, for the use of his diocese, containing the leading doctrines held by the Reformers. This work was censured in 1550, and ordered to be inserted in the list of prohibited books, by a decree of the Sorbonne, which extracted twenty-two propositions from it as a specimen that it abounded with opinions savouring of heresy, plainly heretical, and pernicious to the whole of Christianity.[73]

This unfavourable change made it unsafe for Calvin to remain in Paris. He did not, however, leave it until he had accepted a challenge from the noted heretic Michael Servetus, whose inauspicious star crossed his path at this early period, as if in presage of their future fatal conjunction. The Spaniard had already begun to disseminate his peculiar opinions concerning the Holy Trinity, and having heard of Calvin's rising fame as a divine, was induced by that self-confidence which characterised him at every period of his life, to court a meeting for the purpose of discussing his favourite tenets. Calvin, at no small risk to his person from the spies of the clergy who had heard of his being in the capital, kept the appointed place and time, but Servetus did not make his appearance.[74]

From Paris Calvin went to Orleans. About this time there came to France, chiefly from Bra-

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bant and Holland, certain individuals who professed great zeal against idolatry, but were addicted to private opinions at variance with the common faith of Christians in every age. Calvin was early impressed with the hurtful tendency of this spirit, as calculated to unsettle the minds of the friends of truth, and afford a handle to the enemies of reform in the Church. It was one of the advantages which he enjoyed above the early Reformers, that, previously to his appearance as a public teacher, he had the opportunity of observing both extremes on the subjects of divine grace and Christian liberty which embraced the leading points of controversy in that age. This is one reason of that uniformity of sentiment between his earliest and last writings which has been often remarked. His first avowed work on religion was not an attack on any part of the Popish system, but a defence of a doctrine held by the Church in every age, by some of those who had rch of Rome.[75] At he at this or with the body at death, This treatise discovers great the Scripture argument and activity of the soul is stated with much perspicuity, animat It was published at Orleans in the year In an advertisement prefixed to a second edition of the work, printed two years after,[77] he says with becoming candour: "On reviewing this treatise I found that certain expressions rather too keen and

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even harsh had escaped me in the heat of argument which may perhaps wound some persons of delicate feelings; and knowing that some good men have partially imbibed the doctrine here opposed, in consequence of their minds not being at the time sufficiently fortified by the knowledge of Scripture, or their lending too easy an assent to plausible statements, and not from any wilfulness or obstinacy, it is not my wish to give them offence. I would therefore take this opportunity of intimating to such persons that nothing here said is intended to bring them into contempt." Speaking of the persons whom he had chiefly in his eye in the dispute he says: "Even against them I have been moderate in testifying my displeasure, abstaining throughout from all abusive and insolent language, and almost everywhere tempering my style so that it should be fitted to teach rather than to compel, yet so as that it may draw those who will not be led. Certainly my wish as to all was to bring them back to the path of truth rather than to provoke them." Speaking of the

remember
e, that which pro-
the Lord. To this alone
ears so far as the doctrine of
concerned, and shut them to every
His word is not new, but was from the beginning, and will remain. As those are in an error who stigmatise as a novelty the word of God when brought to light after it had long lain neglected through slothfulness and perverse custom, so they also err, on the other hand, who are like

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reeds shaken by the wind, nay, bend and turn with every breath. Is this to learn Christ—to listen to any doctrine which may be taught without perceiving a foundation for it in the word of God? Though it should be truth, yet if you receive it on the authority of man, would you not drink in falsehood with the same ease? Not so those who 'searched the Scriptures whether these things are so.' An illustrious example! if we would only imitate it; but we receive the word of God with such indescribable sloth, or rather contempt, that we have no sooner made ourselves masters of a few syllables than we are puffed up with an opinion of our wisdom and strut as kings. Hence you will find so many persons making tragical exclamations against the ignorance of all ages, while they are themselves no less ignorant. They would seem, and be called Christians, because they have taken a smack of a few general topics; and being ashamed to appear ignorant, they give their opinion on every point with all the confidence of an oracle. Hence so many schisms, so many errors, so many scandals to our faith by which the name and word of God are blasphemed among the ungodly. In fine (which crowns the evil), being obstinately addicted to what they have once hastily blabbed out, they consult the oracles of God to find support to their errors. And then, good God, what do they not turn upside down! What do they not deprave, and distort, and bend to their own opinions!"[78]

While Calvin was thus employed in checking the progress of extravagant tenets in the provinces, an ebullition of zeal in the capital had nearly proved fatal to the Reformed cause in France. Though

much reliance could not be placed on the resolutions of a monarch, whose measures relating to religion varied according to his political interests, and were influenced in no small degree by the heat of his own passions, Francis was at this time favourably disposed towards the Reformers. Irritated by the turbulence and inquisitorial proceedings of the Parisian divines, he had thrown their leader Beda into prison, and banished one of his most active associates; and he listened to Cardinal Bellay, Bishop of Paris, and his brother, William de Langey, who urged him to allay the dissensions in his kingdom by correcting the undeniable abuses of the Church, and to send for Melanchthon, one of the most learned and moderate of the Reformers, with the view of obtaining his advice in a matter of such importance. The friends of the Reformed doctrine in Paris were ignorant of these plans. They were deprived of their teachers, and of all opportunities of declaring those opinions which not only they, but a great proportion of their countr[illegible] to be founded on the word of God. In these circumstances, some of the more indiscreet Reformers, contrary to the advice of their wiser brethren,[79] resolved on [illegible] might be [illegible] against the mass, [illegible]ey were, however, [illegible] which they have written under the direction of his father. Everything [illegible] be found in the registers of Noyon, which looked like a charge against him, has been sought out and published. In 1526, on a complaint made against him and one of his brothers at the instance of the proctor, they were both declared contumacious, and in the following year, on a new summons in the same cause, the sentence was repealed. But the process evidently referred to some difference which

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availed themselves of it to exasperate the mind of the prince, by representing it as a concerted scheme of the whole party to offer an affront to his royal person, and the religion of the kingdom; and a severe edict was issued, ordaining that all Lutherans should be strictly sought out and brought to condign punishment. The prisons were filled with victims, and many excellent men who were unconscious of the offence suffered a cruel death. A solemn supplication, as it is called in the Popish Church, was ordained throughout the whole kingdom, to expiate the horrible blasphemies uttered against the holy and august sacrament of the mass; which was celebrated at Paris in the month of January. On that occasion, the king appeared in the public procession, accompanied by his three sons, and walked on foot with uncovered head, and a flaming torch of white wax in his hand; eight persons were burned alive at different stages of the procession, amidst the execrations of the inflamed and fanatical mob, who were with difficulty prevented from taking the victims from the hands of [illegible] as it was called, and tearing them in pieces; and, [illegible] order, nor was he capable of the Episcopal palace, [illegible] youth. [illegible] only way in which a great assemblage [illegible] the duties of the [illegible] was by ambassadors, [illegible] belonged to his ordinary [illegible] that this Church, [illegible] neglected. But he had now reached the age of twenty-five, when it was competent for him to be ordained, and as he could not submit to the Popish ordination, or take the oaths required on the occasion, he resolved to denude himself of the livings which he had hitherto held.[66] Accordingly, on the 4th of May 1534, he resigned his chaplainship in favour of Anthony de la Marlière; and his parish

hastened to quit the kingdom, while a greater number consulted their safety by abandoning the cause of reform, and conforming to the established worship.[82] CHAP. II. 1534.

Constitutionally addicted to contemplation rather than action, Calvin had long cherished the wish of securing a retreat in which he could prosecute his studies free from interruption, and with greater advantages than he possessed; but his own convictions of duty, no less than the importunities of his brethren, had hitherto prevented him from forming any serious resolution of that kind. Now, however, providence appeared to have removed the conscientious obstacles which stood in the way of his gratifying his inclinations; and as he could not in present circumstances be of any service to his countrymen, he resolved to leave France and retire to some place in Germany or Switzerland. He was prevented from visiting his relations before taking this step. The city of Noyon signalized its zeal for the Church on the present occasion; the clergy and inhabitants anticipated the day for the observance of the supplication fixed by the [illegible] by their bishop, who, having laid some of the canons under excommunication for disobedience, was summoned before the Parliament of Paris, and obliged to remove the censure.[83] After such a demonstration of feeling on the part of the inhabitants, it would have been imprudent in Calvin to make his appearance at Noyon. Wherefore, being joined by the friend with whom he had lived at Saintonge, he left Orleans, and traversed Lorraine, on the way to Germany. In the neighbourhood of Metz they were reduced to great straits; one of their servants,

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probably aware of the circumstances in which they travelled, stole their money, and mounting the fleetest horse belonging to the party made his escape. By borrowing what the other servant happened to possess, which amounted only to ten crowns, they, with difficulty, accomplished the remaining part of their journey, and arrived in safety at Strasburg.[84]

It may be proper to introduce here the reflections which Calvin made on that portion of his life which we have reviewed. 'My father destined me, when yet a boy, to the study of theology, but perceiving afterwards that the profession of law was the surer way to wealth, he all at once altered his purpose and I was recalled from my philosophical course to the study of jurisprudence. In deference to parental authority, I applied myself faithfully to this new study; but God, by the secret rein of His providence gave a different direction to my course. First, when I was obstinately addicted to the papal superstition, and steeled with prejudice beyond my years, so as to resist all attempts to draw me from the miry pit, it pleased Him, by a sudden conversion, to subdue my mind to docility. Being thus imbued with some relish for true piety, I became so inflamed with a desire to make some proficiency in divine knowledge, that other studies, though not altogether laid aside, were prosecuted with cold[ness], and before a year had elapsed all the friends of true doctrine had sought to me, though as yet but a novice and tiro, for instruction. Naturally, somewhat clownish, and always fond of ease and the shade, I courted retirement, but instead of obtaining it, my retreat resembled a public school. In

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short, while my sole desire was to enjoy an inglorious ease, God so surrounded me by various windings, that I could find it nowhere, and in spite of myself, I was drawn into the light. On that account I resolved to leave my native country, and went to Germany in the hope of finding in some obscure corner, that retirement which I had long sought in vain.'[85]

After remaining for a short time in Strasburg, where he was introduced to that distinguished ornament of the Reformation, Wolfgang Fabricius Capito, Calvin removed to Basle as the place most suited for study. "You will find many conveniences here," says the excellent Œcolampadius, when inviting a friend to be professor in their university. "Healthful air, a pleasant situation, a people, since they embraced Christ, more peaceable and simple in their manners; ready access to printers; the celebrity of the place and your labours will, I have no doubt, attract a crowd of noble youths, from whom you may derive no small profit. Basle has always been a favourite city with learned men. Let it not distress you that some have left us; within a short time, if I am not mistaken, their place will be abundantly supplied. We can want them. Nobody is forced to go away, but they choose to live elsewhere, being displeased that Christ reigns amongst us. Erasmus is indeed gone, to please the princes to whom he is under obligations; but it is my opinion that he will soon return. We do not, however, mind them, as we are about to erect a new academy, and on a better foundation."[86] Before Calvin's arrival, Basle had been deprived of its excellent reformer and pastor; but he was

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succeeded by Phrygio; while the University was provided with Sebastian Munster and Simon Grynæus, who obtained the names of the German Ezra and Strabo, for their skill in the languages which they taught.[87] With the former, Calvin contracted an intimate friendship, and under the latter he prosecuted the study of Hebrew, the first elements of which he had acquired before leaving France.[88]

In the course of this year he contributed a preface and a recommendation to the French translation of the Bible, by his friend Olivetan. This work owed its appearance to the zeal and liberality of the Vaudois of Piedmont. In the year 1531 William Farel was deputed by the Presbytery of Granson in the Pays-de-Vaud, to visit that interesting people. Perceiving their want of public instruction and the Scriptures, he despatched to them, on his return, four teachers, including Olivetan,[89] who, besides preaching, commenced a system of tuition for the youth. Farel undertook the task of providing the Scriptures for them, and having revised the translation of Faber, [illegible] or a part of it, printed in the course of the same year in which he had visited the valleys.[90] But as its language was rude, and in many places unintelligible, it was agreed at a synod held at Angrogne in 1532, that a new version made from the original Hebrew and Greek should be procured.[91] As this proposal originated with Olivetan, the execution was devolved upon him. In the "Apology of the Translator," prefixed to the Bible, addressing his "faithful brethren in Christ, Hilerme Cusemeth, Cephas Chlorotes, and Antoine Almeutes," and having adverted to the defects in

point of Scriptural knowledge which they had witnessed in the churches of the Valleys three years before, he adds, "perceiving also that the copies of the Old and New Testament, which they had long possessed, were in manuscript, and therefore both inconvenient and confined to a few persons, we advised the brethren to procure a pure translation into French from the Hebrew and Greek." A prefixed address to "The Church of Christ" is dated "From the Alps, this 7th of February 1535," where the translation appears to have been executed; and he informs us it was finished in the course of one year. Being shut out, he says, from the counsel of living friends, he betook himself to those dumb advisers, books; and besides the originals, availed himself of all the helps to which he could obtain access, including the ancient versions, and those which had recently been made in Italian and German. He speaks with great modesty of the result of his labours; and the addresses at the commencement of the work testify a warm heart and lively imagination, allied with much simplicity and fervent piety.[92] Though this translation cannot stand the ordeal of modern criticism, and bears evident marks of the author's imperfect knowledge of the original languages, and of the haste with which it was composed, it was yet a most meritorious production, was of unspeakable use at the time, and formed the basis of all the French versions, Castellio's excepted, which proceeded from the Protestant press for two centuries. It subsequently underwent repeated revision by Calvin, with the view of correcting the faults which had escaped the translators, and rendering the style more polished and

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intelligible.[93] Father Simon, after some severe remarks in his usual style on Olivetan's qualifications, allows that "his plan is commendable, and at the same time a clear proof of his judgment;" and speaking of the revision by Cornelius Bertram, who was a good Oriental scholar, he adds, "there is much more judgment displayed in the translations of Olivetan and Calvin, though they had but a very slender acquaintance with the Hebrew tongue."[94]

Both Popish and Protestant writers have ascribed a share in the original execution of this work to Calvin.[95] But there is no reason to think that he contributed anything to it except what is to be found in the preliminary matter. In one of his contributions, which runs in the form of a privilege,[96] after vindicating the right of the Christian people to the use of the Word of God in their native tongue, he adds, "I wish to say little of the translator, lest it should be set down to relationship, and the friendship which has long subsisted between us. This, however, I will say (on my own credit, and without the fear of contradiction), that he is a person destitute neither of talents nor learning, and so far as industry, application, and care are concerned, is entitled to the greatest confidence in that species of interpretation which he has undertaken. Notwithstanding this, I doubt not there are some things in the work which will not please every person, considering the variety of men's judgments, and the oversights which an author is liable to commit in a large work. But I would exhort the readers if they meet with anything of this kind, instead of abusing and traducing a man who deserves well of sacred literature, rather to admonish him mildly of his

faults. Such candour becomes Christianity and liberal studies, and it will be well received by my friend Robert, whose modesty excels the many other gifts with which he is endowed; if indeed that can be called modesty, and not rather immoderate bashfulness, which would have hindered him from publishing this sacred work, had it not been for the importunity of those pious and intrepid witnesses for the truth, Cusemeth and Chlorotes. If there are any who will not be restrained from abusive language, I would just remind them that they have to do with one whom they may attack with impunity, so far as relates to the retaliation of petulant censures."[97]

Calvin's preface to the New Testament is an elaborate and well-written oration on the theme, "Christ the end of the law"—in which, after a rapid but perspicuous and comprehensive view of the series of Divine Revelations, he shows that the knowledge of Christ communicated by the Gospel contains everything which is requisite to restore man to the favour of his Maker, to renovate and purify his soul, to fortify it under tribulation and persecution, and to animate it in the prospect of death.[98] Having mentioned the fall and subsequent depravity of mankind, he gives the following account of the Divine conduct to the heathen world: —"When ages fruitful in vice had provoked the Divine ire to the utmost, God who is not only inclined to mercy and paternal forbearance, but is mercy and forbearance itself, being unwilling not to show love to that which was so unworthy of being loved, did not suffer the human race to perish utterly, and be swallowed up by merited destruc-

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tion; He prolonged the time and means of repentance, if haply they might in some way come to themselves; and though He apparently concealed His indignation, as if winking at their conduct, and left them to themselves without any express voice, or law, or rule, to convince them of guilt; yet He never hid himself from them so far as not to present to their senses objects which admonished them of their duty, and led them as if by the hand to feel after Him; that so they might recognise Him according to their opportunities of knowledge, and, recognising, yield to Him that homage and worship which is His due. Whither could any of them turn without hearing vocal testimonies to the existence and glory of the great architect in the admirable mechanism of the universe, proclaiming all around with loud and swelling voice the majesty of the One Supreme, and without beholding everywhere the most intelligible marks of His glorious and eternal power, goodness and wisdom, impressed and engraven on all His works above and below? There were as many heralds of His boundless glory, as there were beings which He had made, and even those creatures which were dumb had in this respect a tongue for man. The birds in their warblings sung of God, and the lowing steers more loudly told of Him, while the heavenly bodies moved on in silent adoration; the mountains resounded His praise, and fountain and flood pointed to Him with their glance, and every herb and flower seemed to woo man to his Maker." After describing the appearance of Christ, as giving truth and substance to what had been foretold, and shadowed forth by the law of

Moses, he goes on to say: "Of all this we have an authentic record in this book, called the New Testament. Here Christ appears the heir to His Father's inheritance; here He declares His will as to those who are appointed heirs, and who shall in due time enter into full possession. To this inheritance we are all called without respect of persons, male, female; high, low; masters, servants; teachers, taught; learned, unlearned; Jews, Greeks, French, Romans; none is excluded from it who receives and embraces Christ as offered by the Father for the salvation of all. Come, then, with me, Christian men and women; let us not permit the concealment or corruption of this Testament which is ours by the most valid title, and without which all hope of the Kingdom of Heaven is vain, and all expectation of the good things promised by Christ, and of the incomparable blessedness bequeathed to us by Him, will end in disappointment and confusion. Deprived of this light, how shall we be able to discern between good and evil, what God commands and what He forbids, between light and darkness, what is from heaven and what is of man? The Gospel is the only way to life and salvation, the only basis of confidence in the promises of God. The learning and understanding of the Gospel produces a living faith, a firm hope, sincere love to God, and fervent love to our neighbour. What then should withdraw or alienate us from the Gospel? Should reproaches, curses, disgrace, the loss of goods and honours? What though we should be forced to leave our native country—the earth is the Lord's; what though we should be shut out from every harbour, and banished from

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the earth itself,—will that exclude us from the Kingdom of God ?"[99]

1535. But Calvin was at this time engaged on a work of a higher order, which at once established his reputation as a divine, and continues to sustain it to the present day. He had been employing his leisure hours in drawing up a brief view of Christian doctrine, intended immediately for the instruction of such of his countrymen as had acquired a relish for the truth, when he was induced by circumstances to remodel and enlarge his plan. The Protestant princes of Germany were highly displeased at the cruel manner in which the friends of the Reformation in France were treated, and as Francis was anxious to secure their aid against his rival, Charles v., he instructed his ambassador, De Langey, to say that the proceedings complained of were not directed against those of the same faith as the princes, but against certain Anabaptists who pretended to be led by a private spirit instead of the Word of God, and were enemies to all magistracy. Calvin felt an irresistible desire to wipe off this foul slander, and with that view composed his "Institution of the Christian Religion"—a work at once didactic and apologetical. It was published at Basle; [and under the fictitious name of Alcuinus, which was assumed more from modesty and the diffidence of a young author, than from either affectation or the apprehension of danger.] The following is his own account of the origin and design of the work: "While I lay concealed in Basle, the burning of so many pious men in France gave great offence throughout Germany, and to allay this feeling certain false and wicked libels were spread,

bearing that those who had met with such cruel treatment were Anabaptists and turbulent men, who by their frantic notions sought to overturn both religious and civil polity. Perceiving that these slanders originated in the artifices of the Court, and were calculated not only to bury the blood of the innocent and holy martyrs under a load of infamy, but also to give a license to commit similar atrocities, without check, for the future, I could not keep silence nor acquit myself from the charge of treachery unless I did all in my power to put a stop to that course of fraud and violence. This was the reason of my publishing the Institution; first, to clear from injurious reproaches the memory of my brethren, whose death was precious in the sight of the Lord, and then to secure for those poor people who are in danger of the same punishments, some share at least of the sympathy and commiseration of foreigners. What I then published was not the large work which is now known by the same name, but a small manual; nor did I court fame by it, as is evident from my quitting the place soon after its appearance, and the circumstance that no one then knew that I was the author. This I also concealed elsewhere, and it was my wish to have kept the secret."[100]

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Reserving to a future stage a more particular account of this work, which he afterwards so greatly enlarged, I confine myself at present to the Preface, which dedicated it to his sovereign, Francis I. It does not appear, so far as I have seen, that he ever attempted any improvement on this dedication, which, by the common consent of learned men, has been pronounced in point of spirit and style one of

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the three unrivalled compositions of that kind in modern times.[101] He bespeaks the favour of the prince, not in a strain of servile adulation, but with a freedom and boldness becoming a servant of Jesus Christ, a defender of the truth, and an advocate of oppressed innocence. "I am not afraid to confess," says he, "that I present you with a summary of that doctrine, which, if the vociferations of its enemies are to be believed, ought to be punished with imprisonment, banishment, confiscation, and the stake, and to be exterminated by sea and land. I know well with what atrocious informations they fill your ears, to make our cause odious to you; but it becomes you in your clemency to consider, that if it is sufficient to accuse, there can be no innocency either in words or actions. That we do not make this complaint without reason, you yourself, most noble King, can witness, before whom we are daily traduced and calumniated, as persons who wish to wrest the sceptre from the hands of kings, to overthrow all tribunals and seats of justice, subvert all order and government, disturb the public peace, abolish all laws, dissipate every kind of heritage and property, in fine, turn all things upside down. And yet you hear but a small part of the slanders; things still more horrid are spread among the vulgar, which, if true, would justly expose the abettors of the doctrine to a thousand fires and racks. What wonder that the public indignation is kindled against us when such atrocious charges are believed? Hence it is that all ranks of men conspire in condemning us and our doctrine; and judges, hurried away by the common feeling, carry the prejudices which they have

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imbibed at home along with them to the bench, and think they have discharged their duty if they order none to punishment except those who are convicted of holding this doctrine, either by their own confession or by sufficient evidence. But con- convicted of what, I ask? Of holding this con- demned doctrine, it is said. But upon what ground is it condemned? Here we make our stand; we do not deny the doctrine, but we maintain its truth. Here, however, we are precluded from uttering a word. Wherefore, invincible monarch, what I ask of you, and not without good reason, is, that you will take under your own cognisance the whole cause which hitherto has been treated with the turbulent heat of passion rather than the grave and dispassionate spirit of legal investigation." In ask- ing this, he says he did not aim at his own excul- pation, with the view of being permitted to return in safety to France; for though he cherished a becoming affection for his native country, yet in its present state he could bear absence from it without great pain. What he pleaded was the common cause of the godly, yea, the cause of Jesus Christ, which lay prostrate and bleeding in that kingdom, through the violence, and at the instigation, of certain Pharisaical men, rather than by the royal inclination; while none dared to stand up in its defence against the fury of its adversaries. If any seemed to favour the truth they were contented to plead for indulgence to error and the imprudence of unlearned men; "in this manner these modest persons are pleased to speak, calling that error which they know to be the undoubted truth of God, and those unlearned men to whom they see

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that Christ has deigned to impart the mysteries of his heavenly wisdom."

He reminds the king that he owed them protection, and that it was a matter of supreme importance that the glory and truth of God should be maintained, and the Kingdom of Christ preserved. "The matter is worthy of your royal ears, worthy of your cognisance, worthy of your tribunal. What constitutes one a true king is the acknowledgment that in the administration of his kingdom he is the minister of God. He is not a ruler but a robber who does not seek by his reign to advance the divine glory; and he deceives himself in thinking that his government will be long prosperous if he does not rule by the sceptre of God, that is, His Holy Word; for the heavenly oracle cannot fail, 'Where there is no vision, the people perish.'"

In answer to the charge of their adversaries, that they corrupted the Scriptures, he requests his Majesty to judge for himself; and to induce him to read the following confession of their faith, and aid him in the inquiry, he brings the whole dispute to a single point. "What can be more agreeable to the analogy of faith, than to divest ourselves of all goodness, that we may invest God with it,—to acknowledge ourselves the slaves of sin, that we may give Him the honour of our liberation,—to confess ourselves blind and lame and weak, that we may be illuminated, guided, and sustained by His grace,—to throw away all matter of gloriation in ourselves, that He alone may appear glorious and we may be glorified in Him? To this our adversaries oppose, I know not what blind light of nature and free will, pretended preparations, works

meritorious of eternal life, and even supererogatory; the language of all which is that they will not allow God the praise and glory of all that is good, virtuous, holy, and wise. Again, what can be more accordant to the faith than to trust in God as a propitious Father, when He hath given Christ to be a brother and propitiation,—confidently to expect all that is good from Him, who in His unspeakable love hath not spared His own Son, but delivered him up for us,—and to rest in the sure hope of eternal life, when it hath pleased the Father that all its treasures should be securely laid up in Him? This certainty and confidence, our adversaries charge with arrogance and presumption; but without the smallest reason, seeing we presume nothing on ourselves, but all on God, and strip ourselves of every matter of boasting, that we may glory only in the Lord. Let our cause be rigidly examined, great prince, and we are willing to be accounted the worst of men, if you do not clearly find that we suffer for no other reason than this, that we hope in the living God, and believe that it is eternal life to know Him and Jesus Christ whom He hath sent. For this hope's sake some of us are thrown into chains, others scourged and exposed as spectacles to the people; others banished or forced into flight; others cruelly tortured; while all of us are reduced to poverty, excommunicated, calumniated, and treated with every species of indignity. Turn now to our adversaries (the priests, I mean, by whose instigation all this hatred has been excited against us), and consider to what object all their endeavours are pointed. It is of small moment to them that they and others should be ignorant of,

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neglect and despise the true religion as delivered in the Scriptures, which should be well known to all; they care little what men think about God and Christ, if they submit to the judgment of the Church with an implicit faith as they call it; nor does it distress them much that God is dishonoured by open blasphemy, provided no one lift a finger against the primacy of the apostolical See and the authority of holy mother Church. Why then do they fight with such fierceness for the mass, purgatory, pilgrimages, as to affirm that without the most explicit faith of these and such like trifles, there can be no saving piety, although the Word of God is silent about them? Why, but that their god is their belly, and the kitchen their religion, without which they think they would cease to be Christians and even men. Some of them spend their lives in splendour and luxury, while others confine themselves to a spare diet; but they all look to the same quarter for their subsistence, which would fail them if these fables were discredited, just as a pot cools and freezes when the fuel is withdrawn from under it."

He next states and answers at some length the most common objections brought against the Reformers by their adversaries; such as that their doctrine was new; that it was not confirmed by miracles; that it contradicted the opinions of the fathers; that they rejected common and laudable customs; that either they must acknowledge that the Church had perished, or that they were setting themselves in opposition to the Church; and that the doctrine which they taught had given rise to tumults and contention. Having stated in an answer to this

last objection that their doctrine was only the innocent occasion of these evils, which sprung from the enmity of the human heart to the truth of God, and that similar evils arose on the first promulgation of Christianity, he asks, "What then were the Apostles to do in these circumstances,—were they to dissemble for a time, or to decline preaching the Gospel, or to abandon it as the seed-plot of so much strife, the cause of so many dangers, the occasion of such great scandals? In this strait they were relieved by reflecting that Christ was a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence, set for the fall and rising again of many, and for a sign to be spoken against; and, armed with this assurance they advanced boldly, in the midst of tumults and offences and dangers."

He concludes by beseeching the king not to listen to the base calumnies of their enemies, who insinuated that they sought only an opportunity for moving sedition, or impunity in the practice of vice; protesting the innocence of the accused party, among whom a factious word had never been heard, and whose conduct had been uniformly peaceable and obedient to the laws of their sovereign, for whose prosperity they continued to pray in their exile. But if any were to be found, who, under the mask of the gospel, conducted themselves in a different manner, there were laws and punishments by which they could be restrained; and that without slandering the gospel of God on account of their wickedness. He again entreats a calm and favourable hearing: "But if your ears should be so preoccupied by the whispers of evil-minded persons, that no room is left for the accused to defend them-

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selves; if their importunate fury shall, through your connivance, continue to rage by imprisonments, stripes, tortures, confiscations, and burnings, then we will be reduced to the greatest extremity, as sheep doomed to the slaughter, but still we will possess our souls in patience, and wait the strong hand of the Lord, which, without fail, shall show itself in due time, in rescuing the poor from affliction, and in taking vengeance on the proud who now insult over them in so great security."

There is no reason to think that Francis was ever allowed to see this eloquent appeal to his humanity and justice; it must, however, have produced a powerful impression, in favour of the persecuted, on the minds of those who read it.

Feeling that he had discharged his duty to his native country by the publication of this work, Calvin thought he might gratify the desire which he felt to visit Italy. He was the more induced by the report which had reached him of the piety of the Duchess of Ferrara, the accomplished daughter of Louis XII. of France, who hospitably received such of her countrymen as had fled from persecution. At the court of Ferrara, Calvin appeared under the assumed name of Charles Hippeville, and by his religious instructions confirmed the mind of the Duchess, who continued to cherish a high respect for him, of which she gave a distinguished proof after his death.[102] She might have endeavoured to retain him with her; but, soon after his arrival, the Duke entered into a treaty with the Pope and Emperor, by one of the secret articles of which he bound himself to remove all natives of France from his court.[103] In consequence of this

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Calvin resolved to leave Italy, whose territories, he used to say, he entered only to quit them. It would appear that, on his return, he spent some time in Piedmont, most probably in visiting the Waldensian churches, among whom his friend Olivetan continued to labour. At least this is the only period of his life with which I can connect a visit, which is commemorated by a monumental inscription still to be seen in Aosta.[104]

NOTES TO CHAPTER II.

[1] D'Argentre, tom. i. part ii. pp. 308-318. One article of his retractation runs thus: "I confess having uttered the eighth proposition, viz., that, since Pope Sylvester, the Church of Rome was no longer the church of Christ, but of Cæsar and money. And these words I used in repeating the opinions of Wickliffe, as of a great doctor. I did ill in preaching this proposition to the people; and I ought not to have published, alleged, or repeated of any heresiarch, nor to have called him a great doctor."

[2] D'Argentre, tom. i. part ii. p. 350.

[3] In 1518, the Theological Faculty of Paris qualified two propositions respecting Indulgences, and declared, "that it is not certain or infallible that all souls, indifferently, who are in purgatory, are, upon putting for each two sous Tournois into the Chest of the Crusade, immediately and unquestionably admitted to Paradise; but that this must be referred to God, who applies the treasure of the church, according to His pleasure, to the said souls." (D'Argentre, *Collect. de Nov. Err.* tom. i. part ii. pp. 355, 356; Gerdes, tom. i. Doc. no. x. Comp. Dupin, *Cent.* xvi. 6, ii. chap. 33, p. 223.

[4] Seckendorf., lib. i. sect. xlvi. § 113.

[5] D'Argentre, tom. i. part ii. pp. 345-374.

[6] D'Argentre, tom. ii. part xiii. col. 2.

[7] D'Argentre, tom. ii. part i. p. 233.

[8] *Hist. sui Temp.*, ad an. 1559.

[9] D'Argentre, tom. ii. pp. 143-159.

[10] "*Quincuplex Psalterium: Gallicum, Romanum, Hebraicum, Vetus, Conciliatum.* Parisiis ex officina Henrici Stephani, 1509." It was re-

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printed in 1513 and 1515. (Le Long, edit. Masch. vol. ii. pp. 12-14.) The reader must not suppose that this psalter is in various languages; it merely contains different versions in Latin. The psalter was published in French with the following title: *Ici comẽce le Psaultier de David, translaté en Franchois.* Paris, 1513, black letter, 12mo.

The *Quincuplex Psalterium* is a beautifully printed book of 290 folios, in quarto. The *Gallicum, Romanum, et Hebraicum*, are printed in separate columns, with annotations below each psalm, arranged under the several heads of *Titulus, Expositio continua, Concordia*, and *Adverte.* At the end are the two other translations called *Vetus* and *Conciliatum*, with an *Argumentum* prefixed to each.

In the annotations many critical remarks are made, both on the Greek and Hebrew. The versions of Symmachus and Aquila are produced, as well as the Septuagint. In Hebrew criticism, besides Jerome, Paulus Hebræus (Burgensis) is often referred to with approbation, and sometimes Reuchlin. By the time he came to the remarks on the *Vetus* and *Conciliatum*, Faber had made himself acquainted with Hebrew; and accordingly, in the *Argumenta*, we have criticisms of his own on the original, with references to various readings in Hebrew manuscripts (*see* folios 239 b, 260 a, 262 a, 272 b, 282 a.) It is curious that the Hebrew characters which are to be found used in this part of the work are much superior to the Greek.

[11] D'Argentre, tom. ii. parts x. xi.

[12] Fabri *Comment.* in Rom., cap. ix. xi., in 1 Cor. xv. 10, et in Gal. vi., et in Matt. xxvi. Beda, *Censur. in Fabri comment.* locc. citatt. Simon, *Hist. Crit. des Commentateurs du N. Testament*, pp. 488-503. The Spanish divines ordered whole pages to be expunged from his *Commentary on the Four Gospels*, and prohibited entirely his Commentary on John "as incapable of correction." *Index Lib. Prohib.*, pp. 690-696; Madrid, 1667.

[13] Simon, *Lett. Choisies*, tom. iv. p. 102.

[14] "Plurimi etiam eruditi, poetae et rhetores novitati studebant, cui parti faverent ancipites." (D'Argentre, tom. ii. part iv. col. 2.)

[15] D'Argentre, tom. i. p. vi. col. 2, tom. ii. p. 101.

[16] Budæus, *De Asse et ejus partibus*, lib. v. p. 593.

[17] Gerdes, *Hist. Ref.*, ii. Doc. num. vii.

[18] D'Argentre, tom. ii. part i. pp. 138-9.

[19] Carolus Molinæus, *De Monarchia Franciæ*, num. 155; Gerdes, *Hist. Ref.*, tom. i. p. 20.

[20] *Epist. Zuinglii et Œcolampadii*, f. 2. Sculteti, *Annales Evang.*, decad. ii. 204-316. Ruchat, *Hist. Eccl. de Suisse*, tom. iii. pp. 252-270.

[21] Beza, *Hist. Eccl.*, tom. i. pp. 35, 36.

[22] D'Argentre, tom. ii. pp. 2-5.

[23] For testimonies of the zeal of this princess for the circulation and use of the Scriptures, see Florimond de Remond, *Histoire de l'Hérésie*, p. 849. Bayle, *Dict.*, Art. Navarre.

[24] Robertson's *Charles V.*, vol. ii. p. 252. Beza, *Hist. Eccl.*, tom. i. pp. 5, 6.

[25] D'Argentre, tom. i. part ii. p. 375.

[26] D'Argentre, tom. i. part ii. pp. 375-379.

[27] The bishop was a nephew of Cardinal Briçonnet, Archbishop of Narbonne, and a cousin of Francis Briçonnet, grand treasurer. (Maittaire, *Vit. Steph.*, p. 8.)

[28] The Sorbonne condemned forty-eight propositions contained in this work, as derogatory to good works, satisfaction for sin, the worship of saints, holidays, ecclesiastical decrees, etc., ordering it to be committed to the flames, and its authors to be forced to abjure it. (D'Argentre, tom. ii. pp. 35-40.)

[29] Mesurier was unable to escape the suspicion of those to whom he had returned. On the 28th of November 1544, he was accused of certain things which he had uttered in a sermon preached before the people in French, and satisfied the Faculty, partly by denying the charge, and partly by explaining his words in a sound sense. And on the 15th of October 1550, the Faculty disapproved of his book entitled "Instruction et doctrine a se bien confesser et prier Dieu." (D'Argentre, tom. i. Ind. p. xvii. col. 2; tom. ii. part i. p. 138.)

[30] From a letter of Erasmus, dated September 4th, 1524, it appears that Farel was then preaching in Burgundy. (Gerdes, iv. 30.)

[31] Among these was John le Compte, a countryman and scholar of Faber, who afterwards became the first reformed minister of Granson in Switzerland. (Ruchat, *Hist. Eccl. de Suisse*, iv. 225-9.)

[32] Launoi, *Hist. Gymnas. Nav.*, *Opera*, tom. iv. part ii. p. 621. D'Argentre, tom. iii. part ii. p. 9. Beza, *Hist. Eccles.*, tom. i. p. 5. Varillas, *Hist. Hæres.*, lib. v. p. 373.

[33] Beza, *Icones*, sig. z. j.

[34] D'Argentre, tom. ii. pp. 8-17.

[35] Farelli *Epist. ad Seipper. Kappii Spicileg. ed. Hist. Ref.*, part ii. p. 603. Gerdes, iv. 51.

[36] D'Argentre, tom. ii. part i. pp. 21-30. Among the articles of charge against him are the following:—"If the faithful give all worship to God alone, they do well, and the Virgin Mary and other saints will not take it ill." "The Scripture is better understood now than it was in former times." "When speaking of the Son of God, Caroli often called Him the Christ, instead of saying Jesus Christ." "It is better to give six *blancs* to a poor man, than to give them to a priest to say mass." "Women may preach at home to their sons and daughters, and men to their wives; and the common people may have the Gospel and the Epistles of Paul in French, and study and explain them." "Blessing and sprinkling with holy water is of no use." "There is a historical faith by which men believe that the Son of God took humanity, was crucified, etc. There is another faith by which we believe the things in the Bible in the way of confiding in the promises which God has made. The latter, not the former, is justifying." It appears that spies were employed to

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watch him, while he was preaching, for the following words are given in one of the censured propositions: "I say this for the sake of those who are behind the pillars, with the view of accusing me" (pour me reprendre).

[37] Simon, *Lettres Choisies*, tom. iv. pp. 102-104. Father Simon allows that these decrees were directed against Catholic versions; but pleads that they did not prohibit translations absolutely. At least they declared them absolutely "inexpedient and useless."

[38] Harduin, *Concil.*, tom. ix. pp. 1919-1949. The Council of Sens decreed "that persons convicted of heresy, if they return to the unity of the Catholic faith, shall be condemned to perpetual penance and imprisonment: if they refuse to abjure, they shall be delivered over to the secular power. And they exhorted all Christian princes to drive them from their dominions."

[39] [Jean Chastelaine (or Castellan), a native of Tournay, Doctor of Divinity, and a friar of the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine, suffered martyrdom at Vic, 12th January 1524. A particular account of the process of his degradation is given by Crespin, *Hist. des Martyrs*, p. 177. Jean le Clerc was whipped and branded at Meaux, January 1523, and burnt at Metz in 1524, *Ibid.*, Varillas, lib. v. p. 375. *Note by Dr. Thos. M'Crie, jr.*]

[40] Beza, *Hist. Eccles.*, i. 6; *Icones*, sig. z. j.; *Histoire des Martyrs*, f. 92 b; fol.

[41] D'Argentre, tom. i. Ind. p. iv. part ii. pp. 404-406; tom. ii. p. xii. 40-42. Beza, *Hist. Eccles.*, tom. i. pp. 7, 8; *Icones*, sig. z. iiij. *Acta Martyrum*, f. 57-59. [Crespin says Berquin was martyred "mense Maio." *Act. Mart.* p. 59. *Note by Dr. Thos. M'Crie, jr.*]

[42] A correspondent of Erasmus gives a still stronger picture of the fanaticism of the Parisians at this time. "Here all of every rank, and even the women themselves, exclaim loudly against Berquin as an enemy to God and the church. You know how savage the mob are against those suspected of heresy." (*Epistola Gervasii Theologi Parisiensis ad Erasmum;* Lutetiæ, 17 Kal. Sept. 1528 [1529]. Jo. Frid. Burscheri *Spicileg. Autogr. ad Erasmum Spic.*, xxiii. pp. 13-16.)

[43] This Franciscan was, I suspect, Dr. Merlin, penitentiary of Paris, of whom Beza says, that "he was constrained by the constancy of the sufferer to say aloud before the people, to the great displeasure of his accusers and judges, that no man had for these three hundred years and more died a better Christian than Berquin." So differently are the same words reported and understood. (*Hist. Eccles.*, tom. iv. p. 8.)

[44] This letter, which is the 1060th in the collection of Erasmus' Epistles, is reprinted by Gerdes, *Hist. Ref.*, tom. iv. Doc. num. ix. It is addressed to Carolus Utenhovius, and contains an account of his correspondence with Berquin, very characteristic of the writer's caution and timidity, not to say selfishness. While the generous Frenchman was exposing himself to odium and danger in defence of his learned friend,

Erasmus (though placed beyond the reach of personal hazard) is continually expressing his fears lest his cause should be identified with that of Berquin. At the time that the divines of the Sorbonne were prohibiting his colloquies, "I would rather (says he) that my books were unjustly condemned by them, than that my peace should be disturbed at this time of my life, or that I should be involved in endless warfare; and I would rather, if I could accomplish it, that all men would yield to the authority of the divines, than that they should be discredited." After this we need not wonder to find him, after describing the cruel treatment of his friend, saying that France had become a slave to the Court of Rome, adding, "And yet perhaps it is better to err on this side than to give occasion to the unbridled license which we see spring up in some of the German States in which the Pope is Antichrist, the cardinals creatures of Antichrist, the bishops spectres, the priests swine, the monasteries synagogues of Satan, the princes tyrants, where the supreme rule is in the hand of the Evangelical mob with arms in their hands, more skilled in fighting than in reasoning."

[45] Alexander Morus in his oration on Calvin is of opinion that he was not a Protestant when he published *Seneca de Clementia*, "lorsque n'ayant pas encore embrassée le bon parti." Calvin himself says that a year had not elapsed after his change of views before he was known to all the friends of pure doctrine. (*Præf. Comment. in Psalmos.*)

[46] Beza, *Vit. Calv.*; Papyrius Masson, *Elog. Calvini*; Melch. Adam, *Vit. Theol. Exter.* p. 64. Calvin says of him, "De interprete parcius loquor, ne quid cognationi quæ illi mecum intercedit, aut veteri nostræ familiaritati dare videar." (Præf. in *Bibl. Gall. Neve.* 1535. *Epist.*; p. 245).

[47] "J'appris que ce fut à Orleans, où il fut premierement subverty de la foy par un Jacobin apostat, Allemand de nation, avec lequel il logea en chambre garnie." (Desmay, *Rem. sur la Vie de Jean Calvin*, p. 43: Drelincourt, pp. 168-9.)

[48] *Præfat. in Psalmos.*

[49] *Calvini opera*, tom. viii. p. 114.

[50] While Calvin renounced the study of civil law it was successfully prosecuted by one of his relations. This was Anthony le Conte.

[51] Beza, *Vit. Calvini*, sig. * * b.; *Opera*, tom. i.

[52] Gerdes, *Hist. Ref.*, iv. 201. Burnet's *Hist. of the Reform.* [The letter to which Burnet refers in *Calv. Epist.*, p. 124, does it refer to Henry VIII.?]

[53] Beza, *Hist. Eccles.* tom. i., pp. 9, 10.

[54] Among these was John Sturm, afterwards rector of the Academy of Strasburg, and distinguished by his philological writings and his services to the cause of literature, who taught in Paris from 1529 to 1537 (Brucker, *Templ. Honor.* num. xlii., Sturmii, *Antipapp.* iv. 17. Scultet., *Anal.* ii. 443.

[55] Beza, *Vit. Calv.*; *Hist. des Martyres*, f. 107, *b*; Calvini *Opera*, viii. 376.

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[56] A particular account of this affair is given by Calvin, in a letter to his friend Francis Daniel, which occupies the first place among his printed letters. See also Beza, *Hist. Eccles.*, i. 13-15 ; Launoi, *Hist. Gymnas. Navar.*, p. 411. A similar attack on the Queen of Navarre was made about the same time, in the neighbourhood of Bourges, by the guardian of the Franciscans, who, declaiming from the pulpit, called her a Lutheran, and said she ought to be enclosed in a sack and thrown into the river. Francis was determined that the monk should suffer the punishment he had denounced against his sister, but Margaret procured a commutation of it into two years' imprisonment in the galleys. (*Vita Fran. Junii*, p. 6, *Opera*, tom. i.)

[57] Calvini *Epist.*, p. 2.

[58] He is mentioned as an intimate friend, by Calvin, in a letter to Francis Daniel, dated Parisiis, 5 Cal. Jul. 1529 (*MS. Lett.*)

[59] Beza, *Vit. Calv.*, *Hist. Eccles.* i. 14. Other writers have given a different account of Calvin's escape. Papyrius Masson says : "He was searched for by the criminal lieutenant, but descended from a window by means of sheets, and in this way saved himself from that imminent danger." (*Elog. Calvini.*) Desmay adds to this certain circumstances which he received from a certain dean, who received them from an old canon. "Having escaped by a window he took refuge in the Faubourg de S. Victor at the house of a vine-dresser, where he changed his clothes. Dressed with the vine-dresser's frock, a wallet of white linen in his hand, and a hatchet over his shoulder, he took the way to Noyon. The canon met him on the road and recognised him. Having remonstrated with him on his fault, he promised to procure him a good salary if he would alter his conduct and mind his salvation ; but Calvin, who was then hot-headed and intoxicated with the vain promises of the sectaries, replied, "Since I have embarked in the cause, I will go through with it : if my choice were now to make, I would have nothing to do with it ;"—no great evidence, one would think, of his being then *intoxicated* with promises. But let us hear another of Desmay's stories : "The dean told me that he had often heard from a nephew of Calvin, who died while I preached at Noyon, that he had in his youth seen his uncle John Calvin at Geneva, and that his said uncle never introduced the subject of religion, but that he, being young and curious, said to him, 'Uncle, do you think that the Catholics are in a state of damnation ?' to which he replied in the negative ; and that he never sought to persuade him to change his religion." He then tells the story of the old canon a second time with this variation, that "Calvin replied with a sigh, *It is too late.*" (Desmay, *Remarq. sur la Vie de Calvin*, pp. 44-51.) Le Vasseur is less prudent than Desmay, for he specifies names. Germain Fagard, Chancellor of the Church at Noyon (says he), a simple man and good Catholic, passing through Geneva, having asked Calvin if he ought to leave the Church of Rome, received this reply : "Germain, remain where you are ; your faith is good." *Annales*, p. 1168.

[60] Senebier, *Hist. Litt. de Geneve*, i. 180.

[61] Verheiden, *Elog. Viror. Doct.*, p. 105. (Beza, *Hist. Eccles.*, i. 14.)

[62] His death, which happened in 1537, was rather singular in its circumstances, which are detailed by Jurieu (*Apologie pour la Reformation*, etc.), and by Witsius (*Miscell. Sac.*, tom. ii. exerc. vi. sec. 33).

[63] *Epist. Gul. Farelli ad Conrad. Pellican*, A. 1556. J. H. Hottingeri *Hist. Eccles.*, sec. xvi. part ii. p. 18.

[64] Desmay, pp. 40-46 ; Le Vasseur, pp. 1159-1161.

[65] Desmay, pp. 34-36.

[66] Le Vasseur says he retained his benefices in the hope that, after finishing his studies, he could dogmatise at Noyon on his return, in which he was frustrated. (*Annales*, p. 1167.)

[67] Desmay, pp. 48-49 ; Le Vasseur, pp. 1060-61. Papyrius Masson, *Elog. Calvini*. Desmay says, on the authority of an inquest by Mons. de Melle official, that "he sold his chapel for ready money ;" and that Caim did not serve the cure better than Calvin ; for "that worthless man," adds he, "soon after followed him, having first debauched his mother-in-law." But the author does not refer to the registers of Noyon for this fact, and we find no mention elsewhere of such a person as Caim.

[68] Le Vasseur, p. 1172. The canon Collemont returned to Noyon and did penance.

[69] Le Vasseur, pp. 1165-7. Pap. Masson, *Elog. Calv.* "He was," says Desmay, "of a —— spirit, and led a bad life, unbecoming the order to which he belonged." The only proofs of immorality which he produces are his striking one Tourneur, a macer of the Chapter, and a clerk or chorister named Maximilian. For this he was excommunicated and referred to Phalet, a priest, for absolution, after he had performed the public penance enjoined him, which was "to assist on the following Sunday at all the hours of Divine Service." Charles refused to submit to this penance, and spoke contemptuously of the censures of the Church.

[70] Le Vasseur, pp. 1167-8.

[71] *Ibid.* p. 1152. Le Vasseur is minute in giving the names of the children and grandchildren of the first of these sisters. The second must have been married at Orleans if she is the person called "Maria Paludana," in a letter of Calvin's already quoted, see above, p. 27, note [23].

[72] Beza, *Vit. Calv.*, *Hist. Eccles.*, i. 14-15.

[73] The title of the book is *Familiere exposition en forme de colloque sur le Symbole, Decalogue, et Oraison Dominicale ; faite et recolligee de l'Ecriture et vrais Expositeurs d'icelles, suivan le vouloir et intention de Roi de Navarre par Gerard Roussel Eveque d'Oleron.* The following are among the passages condemned by the Parisian divines: "This death (of Christ) may well be called the true medicine of the soul and of all its diseases, and the only propitiation for sins. His wisdom and

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righteousness is perfect and entire, and no other can bring me to glory. Let us embrace it once for all, without turning aside to anything else. The Church is a society composed solely of the saints, elect, and sons of God. Evangelical faith cannot be without charity. God desires the removal of all the darkness of error, superstition, and idolatry, and that every knee should bow to him only. Without being elected, called, and justified, we cannot obey the Divine will. By a lively faith we may and should be fully persuaded and assured that we shall be denied nothing." (D'Argentre, tom. ii. pp. 161-2.)

[74] *Ibid.*

[75] It is not unworthy of observation that he does not dwell on the fact that one of the popes was convicted of the error which he refutes. All the notice he takes of it is in the following sentence: "We read that the authors of this tenet were certain Arabians who gave forth that the soul died with the body, and that both would rise together at the day of judgment; and it was embraced some time after by John, Bishop of Rome, whom the Academy of Paris forced to recant; but after being laid asleep for a number of ages, it was lately revived by some of the Anabaptists." (*Opera*, tom. viii., p. 335.)

[76] The title is *Psychopannychia, qua refellitur quorundam imperitorum error, qui animas post mortem usque ad ultimum judicium dormire putant.* The *Præfatio Joannis Calvini ad amicum quendam* is dated Aureliae, 1534.

[77] This is dated "Basileæ, 1536."

[78] *Opera*, tom. viii. p. 336.

[79] Courault, the preacher, who was then in confinement, when consulted, gave it as his opinion "that the paper ought not to be published, as it would excite great commotion in the minds of the people, and bring odium on the whole body of the faithful." (*Hist. Martyrum*, fol. 64 *b*, 4to.)

[80] The placard is inserted at large in *Histoire des Martyres*, pp. 105, 106, fol.

[81] Beza, *Hist. Eccles.* i. 15, 20. *Vit. Calv.*, Sleidan.

[82] Among those of the last class was James Amiot, the celebrated translator of the works of Plutarch, who escaped from Paris during the persecution for the placards, and afterwards became preceptor to Charles IX., bishop of Auxerre, and grand almoner of France. (Beza, *Hist. Eccles.* i. 16, 17. L'Abbé de Castres, *Trois Siècles de la Litterat. Françoise*, tom. i. p. 16.

[83] Le Vasseur, pp. 1125-1131. The following were the terms of the order for observing the supplication at Noyon:—"9 Januari 1535.—Permissio generalis, cum concione ad populum per A. Fabri, ad exorandum Altissimum pro hereticis ac Lutheri sectatoribus extirpandis, confundendis, seu convertendis. Ita ordinatum super litteris Papæ et Regis ad capitulum transmissis."

[84] Beza, *Vit. Calv.*

[85] *Præfat. in Psalmos; Opera*, tom. ii.

[86] Œcolampadii, *Epist. ad Sim. Grynæum*, Mart. 31 and April. 11, 1529. *Epp. Zuingli et Œcolamp.*, lib. iv. f. 179, 181.

[87] Melch. Adam, *Vit. Germ. Philos.*, p. 1191, 143-5. Gerdes, *Hist. Ref.*, tom. ii. 378, *Doc.* num. xxvii.

[88] Beza, *Vit. Calv.*, sig. * * 2. Papyr. Masson, *Elog. Calv.*

[89] Beza was incorrect in stating (*Hist. Eccles.*, tom. i. p. 21) that Olivetan did not leave France till 1535, at the same time as Calvin.

[90] The following is the description of it in a letter (Ecclesiastae Moratensi, G. Farello Adamus, 5 Nov. 1531), published by Kirchhofer in his Life of Farel :—"Gallice characteribus majusculis, sit altera columna major; Latine vero minutioribus, sit altera minor, ambæ in eadem pagella." Loupard mentions another Bible printed at Serrières, which had not the two columns of Latin and French.

[91] *Leu. Dict.*, Art. Olivetan.

[92] The following is the title of the work :—*La Bible, qui est toute la sancte escripture en laquelle sont contenue le Viel Testament et le Nouveau, translatez en Francoys. Le Viel de l'Ebrieu, et le Nouveau du Grec. Aussi deux amples tables, l'une pour l'interpretation des propres noms, l'autre en forme d'indice pour trouver plusieurs sentences et matières. Dieu en tout. Isaiah* i, *Escoutez cieul et toy terre preste l'oreille car l'Eternel parle.* On the last page is the following :—"Acheve d'imprimer en la Ville e Comte de Neufchastel par Pierre de Wingle dict Perot Picard L'an 1535 le IIIe jour de Juing." Black Letter. The verses are not numbered, only in the Psalms they are arranged in distinct paragraphs. On the margin are several annotations, *e.g.* Job ii. 9, "Lors sa femme luy dit, Tu persevere tu encore en ta simplice. Bensis Dieu [*marg.* maul-dis] et si mourras. Et il luy dit, Tu a parle comme une des folles femmes. [Prosperite et adversite de Dieu.] Si nous recevons le bien de Dieu, pourquoy ne recevons nous le maulx [c'est adversite]. 1 Jean v. 7, Ceste sentence commenceant a *Car* jusqua *Aussi* ne se trouvent poīt en plusieurs examplaires āciēs tant Grecz que Latins.'

[93] In 1564 the New Testament was published in Latin and French by Renee Benoit, parson of St. Eustache, and a celebrated preacher, who had accompanied Queen Mary to Scotland in 1560. It was nearly a reprint of the version of Olivetan as corrected by Calvin. The Privy Council having, at the instigation of the Sorbonne, condemned it, Benoit charged the printers with infidelity in having inserted Calvinistic notes without his knowledge, and in 1566 published a translation of the Old and New Testament. This work was censured by the Sorbonne, and prohibited by an order of Council; but the author being supported by the Parliament and his diocesan, the Bishop of Paris, the matter was referred to the Pope, who, after many delays, issued a bull in 1575, approving of the censure of the theological Faculty of Paris, and prohibiting the translation. Benoit does not deny having made large use of the Genevese version, for which he makes the following apology :—"C'est pourquoi il n'a fait difficulté de répéter des hérétiques tout ce qu'il a pensé être bon, et pouvoir edifier, soit au texte, ou aussi aux annota-

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tions, propositions, et scholies, imitant Abraham et David et Job, lesquels ayant surprises et vaincus les *pillars* [pilleurs] ont non seulement repeté et prins d'iceux ce que leur appertenoit, mais aussi ont pillé les pilleurs, comme les enfans d'Israel les Egyptiens, etc." (D'Argentre, *Collect. Judiciorum de Novis erroribus*, tom. ii. pp. 404-411, 425-440.)

[94] *Histoire Crit. du V. Test.*, liv. ii. cap. xxiv. pp. 382-388.

[95] *Nouv. Dict. Hist.*, Art. Olivetan. *Leu. Dict.* Beza, *Icones*, sig. *b.* j, b. Calvin was at a distance from the place where the translation was composed, and Olivetan makes no mention of any assistance which he received from his friend.

[96] The strain of it is perfectly serious, though the title is a species of mock *Privilegium*, "To all emperors, kings, princes, and nations subject to the rule of Christ, John Calvin wishes health."

[97] *Calvini Epist.*, pp. 244, 245; *Opera*, tom. ix. Olivetan went to Rome in 1538, where he is said to have had poison administered to him, at an entertainment, in consequence of which he died some time after at Ferrara. (Spanhemii *Geneva Restituta*, pp. 56, 57; Colomesii *Gallia Orient.*, p. 258.)

[98] The reader will observe that there is more ornament of style and more diffuseness of illustration in this and some other of his early pieces, than are to be found in the works which proceeded from his pen at a subsequent period.

[99] *Calvini Epist.*, pp. 246-250; *Opera*, tom. ix.

[100] *Præfat. in Psalmos*, *Opera*, tom. iii. Gerdes says that Calvin was urged, by his friends, to publish the work which he wished to have rendered more perfect before committing it to the press. (*Miscell. Groningana*, tom. ii. part i. p. 452.) But this does not agree with his own statement.

[101] The other two are, De Thou's Dedication of his *History of his Own Times*, and Casaubon's Preface to his Edition of Polybius. (*Menagiana*, tom. iii. p. 77.)

[102] Beza, *Vit. Calvini.*

[103] *History of the Reformation in Italy*, p. 89, 2d Edition.

[104] In the city of Aosta, near the Croix-de-Ville, stands a column surmounted by a cross, and bearing the following inscription:—

"Hanc
Calvini Fuga
erexit
Anno MDXLI
Religionis Constantia
Reparavit
Anno MDCCXLI."

In a publication entitled, *Guide du Voyageur dans la Cité et Vallée d'Aoste*, p. 16, the date of the erection is MDXII, but this is evidently a mistake for MDXLI. My friend, the Rev. Mr. Tweedie of London

Wall Church, who examined the inscription on the spot, says that the lower limb of the L is much effaced, and requires to be nicely noticed, to enable one to distinguish between it and the I, for which it was mistaken. This is also evidently implied in the antithesis between 1541 and 1741. It may be observed that the inscription fixes the date of the erection of the pillar, not that of Calvin's visit. This last could not have taken place in 1541, as we are enabled by means of his correspondence to determine the place of his residence during every month and even week of that year. The inscription contains the only notice I ever met with of Calvin's having been in that city, and it conveys no information as to anything that happened on that occasion, except it be that he was forced to leave the place, and that religion was the cause of his flight.

Note by Dr. Thos. M'Crie, jr.—May not "Calvini Fuga" signify only the defeat of *Calvinism*, in opposition to "*Religionis Constantia*"?

CHAPTER III.

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF GENEVA, A.D. 500-1536.

CHAP. III. 500.

BEFORE proceeding further with the biography of Calvin, it will be necessary to give some account of a city in which he spent the remainder of his life, to advert to its external relations and internal government, and to put the reader in possession of the leading facts connected with the introduction of the Reformation into the city and its territories. Without this it would be impossible to understand many of the facts to be related, or to form a proper judgment of the difficulties which Calvin had to encounter, and the services which he performed.

Though we had not known from the testimony of Cæsar and from inscriptions, that Geneva was an ancient city, we might have inferred the fact from the obvious attractions of its site. Built upon the Rhone at the spot where that river escapes from the Leman Lake, and surrounded with fruitful plains, and with a range of mountains which leave open an extensive and varied prospect, it unites the three great recommendations of a place of residence: beautiful scenery, a healthful climate, and fertility of soil; while its position in regard to France, Germany, and Italy, points it out as an eligible place of strength in war, and of intercourse and

trade in time of peace. Christianity was introduced into Vienne in the end of the second century, and it is probable that it soon spread through the towns of that province, of which Geneva was one. But though a list of its bishops connecting these with the Apostles by means of Denis and Panodus has been given, we have no authentic account of a bishop of Geneva before the commencement of the sixth century.[1] After the dismemberment of the Roman Empire, Geneva was subject successively to the Burgundians, Ostrogoths, and Franks; on the decline of the Carlovingian dynasty, it became part of the new kingdom of Burgundy, and at its fall passed into the Empire of Germany. During the weakness of the imperial authority, produced by its contests with the popedom about the right of investiture, and its occupation with the holy war, the dukes and earls who were at first governors and officers of justice, removable at pleasure, usurped the dominion of the provinces over which they were placed, and the emperors were forced to yield to their claims in the way of obtaining from them an acknowledgment of homage. In the same way, or by voluntary grants from the heads of the Empire, did many bishops obtain the government of their dioceses, or of the cities in which they resided. This led to the disputes for the superiority over Geneva, which were carried on almost without interruption from the eleventh to the sixteenth century between the bishops of that see and the most powerful of the neighbouring lords. The counts or earls of Genevois, an adjoining territory which derived its name from that city, were the first to advance this claim, partly under the colour

CHAP. III. 1100.

of their being the advocates or patrons of the see,[2] and partly on the pretexts of grants from the Emperor. Secular and religious considerations combined in inclining the people to prefer the claims of their bishops. Geneva was from an early period a manufacturing and commercial town,[2b] and there was a greater prospect of enjoying that peace which is essential to trade, under an ecclesiastic than under the warlike and restless barons of that age. While the bishops could always call in the aid of spiritual weapons to check the aggressions of their more powerful neighbours, and to procure redress for depredations committed within their territories, the inhabitants were careful to secure themselves against the obligation to support them in any war in which they might engage for purposes foreign to the defence of its city and its territories.[3]

The disputes between the bishops and neighbouring lords for the sovereignty over Geneva, were favourable to the preservation and growth of popular liberty. By several imperial decrees the church and city of Geneva was declared to be "a noble member of the empire," and all princes were probibited from usurping authority over it; but though these deeds recognised its independence, with the single exception that the Chapter were bound to perform certain litanies when the emperor should pass through the town, they recognised the bishop and his successors as its sovereign princes, without any mention of rights or privileges belonging to the citizens.[4] They had, however, such rights, which they claimed as belonging to them from time immemorial, and they embraced every fit opportunity to procure the ratification and enlargement of them.

The clergy and people had the right of electing their bishop,[5] who, on entering the city after his consecration, swore to preserve their ancient franchises and customs. These were solemnly ratified in 1387 by Bishop Ademar Fabri in a deed which specified the following privileges:—That processes before the Vidomne, or bishop's lieutenant, should be conducted verbally and in the vulgar tongue;[6] that criminal causes should be tried only before the syndics elected by the burgesses;[7] that the guard of the city and all jurisdiction, pure and mixed, from sunset to sunrise, should belong to the citizens, and not to the bishop or his officers;[8] and that the citizens, burgesses, and tradesmen of the city should create every year four syndics or procurators, who should have full power in all the affairs of the community. "These," says the bishop, "are customs which our lieges, the citizens, burgesses, inhabitants, and craftsmen of the said city use, and have used for so long a time, that there is no remembrance of the contrary."[9] 1387.

The triumph of freedom in the establishment of the Helvetic Confederacy during the fourteenth century was a propitious event for Geneva; and though the inhabitants of this city appear to have been at first insensible to its advantages, it ultimately proved, under Providence, the chief means of their emancipation from civil and spiritual bondage.[10] By the activity of its princes and fortunate marriages, the house of Savoy had obtained possession of the territories of most of the neighbouring chiefs. Besides the pretensions which they made as vicars of the empire, the dukes of that house claimed a right of sovereignty over Geneva, in virtue of their

CHAP. III. 1504.

succession to the counts of Genevois. Charles III., who succeeded his father in 1504, determined to execute the design on Geneva which had been planned by his predecessors; but he soon found that a spirit had been evoked which it would require all his address and power to conquer. He began by offering to procure, through his influence with the French Court, the restoration of the fair, which a former Duke of Savoy had been the means of removing from Geneva to Lyons, on the condition that the Council would concede to him certain rights in the city. Tempting as the boon was, the General Council unanimously refused the condition on which it was offered; and when the Duke urged his proposal, and insisted on the syndics taking an oath of fidelity to him, the deputies of the town told him that they would rather live in poverty as freemen than grow rich in chains, and that their magistrates would swear allegiance to no prince on earth.[11] The see having become vacant in 1513, the Duke, by his interest at Rome, procured, in opposition to the people's choice, the appointment of John of Savoy, an illegitimate son of a former bishop of Geneva. This minion executed a deed conveying the temporal jurisdiction of the city to his patron, which Pope Leo X., whose brother had married the Duke's sister, confirmed; but the papal brief was not carried into execution in consequence of the scruples of the cardinals.[12] In the meantime the Duke, availing himself of the privilege of making a temporary residence in Geneva, prosecuted his plans against its liberties. By distributing money and conferring offices he extended his interest in the city. In concert with

CHAP. III. 1510.

the Bishop he encroached on its franchises, and seizing those who opposed his measures, caused them to be conveyed to Chamberri, where they were put to the torture on false or frivolous charges. These violent and illegal proceedings fanned the spirit of liberty among the citizens; and some of the patriots who had taken refuge at Friburg, concerted a defensive alliance between that canton and their native city, which, after a keen struggle with the partisans of Savoy, was approved by the authorities in Geneva, and formally ratified. By this measure the inhabitants were divided into two parties; the friends of the alliance with Friburg were called Eidgnots: a word which signifies confederates or covenanters, and had been adopted by the Swiss Cantons when they associated for the defence of their freedom,[13] while the adherents of Savoy were called by their opponents *Mamelukes*, in allusion to the mercenary soldiers of the Soldan of Egypt, who had renounced their religion and sacrificed the liberties of their country. Finding that he could not prevent the alliance, the Duke entered Geneva by force of arms, and took upon him the supreme management of affairs. The canton of Friburg sent an army to the relief of their confederates, but before the matter came to the decision of arms, it was accommodated by the mediation of the other cantons, who decided that the late alliance should be set aside, that the Duke should desist from all attempts against the liberties of Geneva, and that both parties should withdraw their troops from its territory.[14] This treaty was agreed to by the Duke, only that he might break it on the first favourable opportunity. The Bishop

CHAP. III. 1526.

under his direction, accompanied by a band of armed men, entered the city, breathing out threatenings against all who had opposed the pretensions of the Court of Savoy, and having seized Philibert Berthelier, one of the most active and zealous patriots, caused him to be tried by his officers and beheaded.[15] The election of the Syndics was set aside, and the council modelled according to the will of his superior. Soon after this, the Duke, who had married a daughter of the King of Portugal, took up his residence in Geneva, and by the splendour and festivities of a court, corrupted the minds of the young men, who lost their love of country in their passion for luxury and licentiousness. Having assumed the appointment of Vidomne or bishop's lieutenant, he exacted from him an oath of fidelity, and so slavish were the magistrates that they agreed, with only one dissentient voice, that appeals from his decisions should be made to the Ducal council instead of to the Syndics. Nothing now remained but a public proclamation of the Duke's sovereignty, and that this might be done with the greater security, orders were given to seize the persons of eight of the principal citizens who belonged to the Eidgnots. Being apprised of their danger, the most of them made their escape, and repairing to Friburg and other parts of Switzerland laid open the ambitious designs of Savoy, and entreated for aid to their native city. The report of their negotiations served to encourage their friends at home, and the cantons of Friburg and Berne having signified their willingness to enter into a defensive treaty with Geneva, it was ultimately adopted by the latter

city amidst the acclamations of the assembled people and expressions of gratitude to those who had been instrumental in procuring the alliance. This happened on the 12th of March 1526. The arms of the Duke were defaced from the Chateau de l'Isle, which he had occupied; the officers whom he had nominated left the town, and were followed by his principal adherents among the citizens, who were afterwards banished as enemies to their country.[16]

1528.

During these struggles Peter de la Baume, who had succeeded to the bishopric, showed little sympathy for the people of his charge. He was not attached, like his predecessor, to the interests of the Duke, and could not relish the encroachments which that prince had made on the Episcopal jurisdiction; but the fear he had of losing the benefices which he possessed in Savoy, joined perhaps to the jealousy with which he viewed the rising spirit of liberty among the citizens, induced him to temporise, and at a diet of the Helvetic body, held to deliberate on the differences between the Duke and city of Geneva, an envoy from the Bishop actually appeared for each party.[17] After courting the alliance of the Swiss and requesting to be made a burgess of Geneva, he, in 1528, embraced the interests of Savoy, revoked the right of judging in civil actions which he had lately granted to the syndics, and leaving the city became its irreconcilable enemy.[1]

The internal government of the city underwent at this time a considerable change. Formerly its affairs were conducted by a council of twenty-five persons, consisting of four syndics or magistrates, twenty councillors, and a treasurer, besides a secre-

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tary who had no voice. If anything extraordinary happened, the council called to its assistance the masters or wardens of the trades ("maitres jurés des métiers"), and on certain emergencies they summoned a general council, composed of the heads of families who were citizens or burgesses. But at this time in addition to the ordinary council, there were created those of sixty and of two hundred, after the model of government established at Friburg and Berne.[19] The second of these included the members of the first, and the third included those of the other two. The syndics continued as before, to be chosen annually by the people in public assembly. Formerly the syndics had the power of choosing the ordinary council; but as this was considered as lodging too great power in their hands, and giving occasion to favouritism and bribery, this power was now lodged with the Two Hundred, who, however, were restricted to a list of double the number required, made up by a conjunct meeting of the old and new syndics. The ordinary council, again, had the power of filling up vacancies which occurred in the Two Hundred. The business of the syndics and ordinary council was formerly very limited,[20] but recent changes had added greatly to it; and on the representation of the syndics that they could not attend to the general affairs of the city and also judge in those causes which had come before the Vidomne, the Council of Two Hundred appointed a lieutenant and four auditors or assessors, as a court to determine in all civil processes. These were chosen, like the syndics, by the people from a list made up by the Two Hundred.[21]

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There were seven parish churches in Geneva and its suburbs; St. Peter's or Holy Cross, which was the Cathedral, Notre Dame, La Neuve, the Magdalene, St. Germains, St. Gervais, and St. Victor's. The two last were razed along with the suburbs, in which they were situated, two years before the establishment of the Reformation, when the fortifications of the city were completed, with the view of resisting the attacks of the Duke of Savoy. There were three monasteries within the walls; those of the Cordeliers of the Franciscan Order, the Jacobins of the Dominican, and the nuns of St. Clara; and two without the walls, the monastery of St. Victor of the Order of Clugny, and Nostre Dame de Grace of the Order of St. Augustine. To these may be added seven hospitals and a great many chapels.[22] In almost each of the rural towns belonging to the territory of Geneva, and amounting to about twenty-four, there was a church or chapel. The number of monks does not appear to have been great at the time of the Reformation:[23] but their revenues were considerable, and the priory of St. Victor, in particular, possessed extensive lands and villages. The canons of St. Peter were thirty-two in number, and as the situation was honourable, it was courted by those of other places.[24]

Geneva was well provided for, so far as related to churches and priests, but there was no connection between these and the religious instruction and oversight of the people. The bishops of that See were temporal sovereigns, kept their court, received ambassadors, and lived in the same splendour as other princes, and the time which

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they saved from secular business was spent in hawking and other amusements, instead of the duties of their religious functions. They rarely performed any part of the public service, and even devolved the task of confirmation on others.[25] The secular priests did not consider it as any part of their office to instruct the people, nor was their fitness for this looked upon as a qualification for receiving orders. The friars were the only preachers of that time. At intervals of four or five years, some of them were sent to preach through the diocese; the Dominicans and Cordeliers claimed the right of performing this service,[26] but so deficient in talents were those of Geneva, that the preacher at Advent and Lent, was, for the most part, if not always, brought from some other quarter.[27] The manner in which they acquitted themselves was frequently so offensive, that the Council found it necessary to make complaints on this head to the ecclesiastical authorities.[28] So great was the ignorance of the clergy, that when the opinions of the Church began to be called in question in Geneva, none of them could be found to defend them, and they professed their incapacity for the task. The manners of the secular priests and of the monks were equally irregular and dissolute. The disorder caused by their irregular habits could scarcely have been greater than it was. Not only did they keep concubines in their houses with unblushing publicity, but maintained harems of dissolute women in the vicinity of their churches and convents. Such were the fruits of the enjoined celibacy of the clergy, and of their exemption from secular jurisdiction.[29] During half a century previous to the Reformation,

these practices had been forced on the notice of the Council, which repeatedly made remonstrances on the disgusting subject to the bishops and heads of religious houses.[30] So habituated had they become to a dissolute life, that even after the light of the Reformation had broke in among them and exposed their shame to the eyes of all, and when their manners threatened to entail ruin on themselves and their whole order, they refused to change their practices. The Abbé de Bonmont, old man and dean of the Chapter as he was, persisted in retaining his mistress to the last. The bishop himself, Pierre de la Baume, at the very time that the clergy had incurred the indignation of the citizens by favouring the pretensions of Savoy, carried off a young woman of respectable connections in the time of Lent, and was forced to deliver her up in consequence of a tumult excited in the town by that discreditable outrage on public feeling.[31] When the city was besieged by the Duke in 1535, and victuals became scarce, the Council issued a decree that all the "useless mouths" should leave the town, and among those who were excluded the concubines of the priests formed a great proportion.[32] Their licentiousness, along with their extreme ignorance, contributed greatly to facilitate the introduction of the Reformation; as those who could not judge of the points in dispute between the two parties, were at no loss to draw the conclusion, that either the profligate priests did not believe the doctrine they professed, or that that doctrine was not of God.

Though attached to the religion of their fathers, and capable, like all the votaries of superstition, of being roused, by the artful representations of their

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priests, to indignation against those who attempted to deprive them of their accustomed rites, the Genevese do not appear to have been a devotional people, nor do topics connected with religion seem to have engaged much of their attention. They went to mass, kept Lent, and took pleasure in those religious processions which were incorporated with their secular employments, and are calculated, through the senses, to gratify the multitude; but their intellect had never been cultivated so as to lead them either to inquire into the grounds of what they practised, or to entertain a doubt of its propriety. There is not a hint in their records of any heresy or novel opinion which sprung up among them. Collections were made in Geneva for carrying on the war against the Albigenses, but there is not a trace of any individual of that persecuted people having set a foot within the city, although they were numerous in the adjoining districts. It may be considered as an indirect proof of this, that the words heretic and heresy with them had a peculiar meaning, and were of the same import with sorcerer and sorcery.[33] There was an inquisitor in Geneva, but his employment seems to have been confined to the trial of that offence.[34]

It was impossible that the Genevese could be ignorant of the new opinions which for many years had made so great a noise in Germany and Switzerland, and had led to the adoption of new forms of worship in the most powerful of the neighbouring Cantons. But their ignorance, joined to the contest in which they were involved for the maintenance of their liberties, had prevented them from directing

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their attention to those questions which were exciting an absorbing interest all around them. The only knowledge they had of Luther and Zuingle was from the mouth of their monks, who represented them as monsters of impiety who wished to banish Christianity from the world, and had thrown the torch of dissension and discord into every place which their pestilent doctrine had reached. Matters remained in this state until 1528. In the course of that year the Reformation was finally established in Berne by the persevering exertions of Berthold Haller. The close alliance which that Canton had lately formed with Geneva occasioned a greater intercourse between the two places than formerly; and the Bernese, whose minds were warmed with the recent change, could not refrain from talking on the subject with such of their confederates as they lodged with during the visits which they paid to Geneva. They expressed their astonishment at the superstitious submission which they yielded to the dictates of a profligate priesthood, exposed the unreasonableness of scrupling the use of certain kinds of food which God and nature had made common; and succeeded by degrees in exciting a spirit of inquiry, and shaking the confidence which had hitherto been placed in an order of men who were venerated, not on account of their learning or probity, but the sacerdotal character which they bore, and the sanctity of the office which they discharged.[35]

As they were destitute of the means of instruction, it is natural to suppose that some, perhaps the greater part, of those who listened to the discourse of the Bernese were actuated by a fondness for change, and the pleasure of humbling the clergy,

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rather than any regard to the purity of religion and Christian liberty. In the beginning of the year 1529, a band of citizens made a mock procession in derision of the priests; a step on which they could scarcely have ventured at that time but for the bad odour into which the clergy had by their morals brought themselves with the people. This is confirmed by the slight manner in which the offence was passed over; the principal persons engaged in the procession were called before the Episcopal council and reprimanded.[36] At their head was Baudichon de la Maisonneuve, a family which afterwards became one of the most considerable in the Republic. His youth had been disorderly; and his daring courage and disregard of consequences fitted him for taking an active part in the dangers which accompanied the progress of the Reformation.[37] The approach of Lent discovered still further the progress which the new opinions had made among the citizens. It had been agreed, by the ordinary council, that the usual proclamation against eating flesh should be made, but the matter was brought before the Council of Two Hundred, which decreed that the intimation should be given privately, to avoid, no doubt, any disorder or public expression of opinion against the practice,[38]—a circumstance trifling in itself, but indicating a great change in Genevese feeling, and a still greater change that was approaching.

Those who entertained serious wishes for reformation, and were aware of the difficulties which surrounded the enterprise, asked the advice of Francis Bonnivard, prior of St. Victor, a person in high esteem among his fellow-citizens for his sagacity

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and the pecuniary losses he had sustained in the cause of his country's independence.[39] His answer was striking and oracular. A change in the church (he said) was certainly desirable, but it behoved to be of such a kind as would remove, not disguise, the evils complained of; the church and the clergy needed reformation, but so also did those who demanded it; many of the people were chargeable with the same vices which disgraced the priesthood, and those who were themselves corrupt could not seek the reformation of others with any degree of consistency or hope of success; it was not so much the vices of the clergy as their ambition, crossing the schemes of others, which rendered them odious; many wished to get rid, not of vices but of the vicious, not for the good of the city, but that they might riot alone in debauchery; they should consider what would be the consequence of their expelling the clergy, and calling in the ministers of the word; the clergy, conscious of their own faults, connived at vices which the ministers would not tolerate; the former urged obedience to the laws of the Pope, and were indifferent about the commandments of God; while the latter held the divine precepts sacred, and showed little regard to those of men: they ought, therefore, to examine themselves and ascertain if they wished for a reformation of life as well as doctrine; if this was their desire, they should urge on the undertaking which they had begun; if not, he advised them to speak no more of reform.[40] Bonnivard spake "as an angel of God," and shewed how well he knew his countrymen; though he had not himself escaped altogether from the contamination of their example, and fell at a

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future period under the censures of which he had forewarned others.[41]

1528. The zeal which their enemy Charles III. of Savoy testified for the Church, would not make the Genevese more averse to the Reformation. He requested them, in 1528, to send one or two persons to maintain the faith against the Lutheran sect; but the Council of Two Hundred resolved that they would neither send a deputation nor answer the letter, but merely direct the bearer to say that they would take care to conduct themselves properly, and it did not belong to him to correct them.[42] The conduct of the bishop, Pierre de la Baume, was ill calculated to secure the attachment of his flock to the interests of the Church. Having retired into Burgundy, he secretly accommodated his differences with the Duke of Savoy, revoked the power which he had granted to the syndics to judge in civil causes, and threatened them with excommunication if they did not renounce that privilege; used his influence in favour of the Mamelukes, or citizens who had been banished for plotting against the independence of the State, encouraged the Gentlemen of the Spoon (a band of neighbouring freebooters) in the attacks which they made on Geneva, and declared himself an open enemy of the city.[43] The public indignation was raised to a high pitch by a sentence of the Metropolitan Court of Vienne excommunicating the magistrates and people of Geneva for banishing the Mamelukes, and threatening them with an interdict. On this occasion the General Council assembled, and passed an edict, forbidding, under severe penalties, all recognition for the future of the authority of that

court.[44] It happened that, soon after this event, a deputation was sent from Geneva to Berne. Bonnivard, who accompanied it, stopped to read the excommunication, which was posted on the churches by the way, and being warned by his fellow-travellers that he exposed himself to the penalties of the curse, replied, "If you have unjustly banished your fellow-citizens, you have reason to fear the anathema of Heaven, but if not, Pope Berthold (referring to the Reformer of Berne) will absolve you. God alone can bind the conscience; the devil and the pope can hurt those only who ignorantly stand in awe of them." The speaker paid the forfeit of his boldness, being soon after seized by the agents of Savoy, and imprisoned in the Castle of Chillon.[45]

During the two following years the attention of the inhabitants was engrossed by the means necessary for defending their liberties. Never were these in greater danger than in the course of the year 1531. The Duke exerted all his influence to break their alliance with Berne and Friburg, and being supported by the interest of the Pope and King of France, to which he now added that of the Emperor, considered his success as certain. He forbade his subjects to supply the inhabitants of Geneva with victuals, and collected an army to besiege the city. When things were in this state deputies arrived from Berne and Friburg to advise them to settle their differences with the Duke, as they could not afford to protect them, having received no remuneration for the expense which they had already incurred in their defence. The conduct of the Genevese on this occasion was noble, and showed

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that they were worthy of the liberty for which they contended. The three councils, having successively assembled, returned this answer to their allies: "That they were prepared to stand to the oaths they had sworn, and, though poor and embarrassed, would pledge their goods, their wives and children, for the payment of what they owed; but if their allies should forsake them, they were determined for their part to resist to the last and to die in defence of their independence." On receiving this magnanimous reply the Cantons of Friburg and Berne felt ashamed of their timid and mercenary scruples, and came to the determination of hazarding everything in defence of the spirited Republic.[46] In the meantime the Genevese took the most prompt and decisive measures for self-defence. They strengthened their fortifications, and though the suburbs contained nearly as many inhabitants as the rest of the city, yet as these afforded an advantage to an enemy, disregarding the complaints of those who suffered, they razed them to the ground, and employed the materials in completing the walls and bulwarks.[47] In the midst of this struggle for civil liberty the cause of the Reformation was silently advancing. Two things contributed to this. In the first place, the perseverance of the clergy in their vicious habits, which induced the Council, after in vain remonstrating with their ecclesiastical superiors, to threaten that they would take the affair into their own hands and apply an effectual remedy to the evil.[48] The second cause was the refusal of the clergy to bear a part of the extraordinary burdens necessary for the defence of the city, and the payment of the debts it had incurred,

which could not fail at that time to expose them to the odium of the people.[49] ".I learn," says Farel in a letter dated from Granson, October 1531, "that Geneva thinks of embracing Jesus Christ. If they are not restrained," etc. (Ruchat, iv. 144.) Before this time the Procurator-Fiscal had complained of persons who showed themselves Lutherans, and the Ordinary Council had issued inhibitions, which however were not much regarded.[50] The Duke of Savoy also complained, through the deputies of Friburg, that some citizens of Geneva, passing through his territories, eat flesh on prohibited days, and attempted to persuade his subjects to embrace the Lutheran doctrine, and to withhold the accustomed tithes from the priests. The Council increased the penalties against those who transgressed the laws, but at the same time intimated that if the clergy did not use their revenues in a more becoming manner, they would be forced to appropriate them to the more unexceptionable purpose of supporting the poor.[51] The differences between the Council and the clergy, together with the general dissatisfaction felt at the behaviour of the latter, gave courage to those who favoured the Reformation. It being understood that Clement VII. had issued a bull for a jubilee (which was proclaimed at Geneva in the month of August), they resolved to anticipate this by an indirect censure; and on the 9th of June a placard was found affixed to all the public places in the city, promising a general pardon of sins to all on the sole condition of repentance and a lively faith in Jesus Christ. The sight of this threw the priests into a violent rage, and a canon, named Peter Vernli,[52] a burgess of Friburg, seeing

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John Goulas, a young Genevese, fixing one of the placards on a pillar before St. Peter's, gave him a blow, and attacked him with a drawn sword; for the priests of Geneva at that time wore swords, and were more expert in the use of them than in that of "the Sword of the Spirit." Goulas drew in his own defence, and wounded the aggressor in the arm. A similar affray took place at the Bourg de Four, where two partisans of the clergy were hurt. The council imposed a fine on Goulas, and issued a proclamation forbidding, under severe penalties, the publishing of placards and everything tending to a breach of the peace. On this occasion a deputy arrived from Friburg to complain not only of the injury done to Vernli, but of the liberty given to spread the new opinions in Geneva. The Council returned a satisfactory answer to their allies.[53] But soon after, in consequence of the ridicule which the priests drew on themselves by the legends which they read from the pulpit, they found it necessary to request the Grand Vicar to take order that in all the churches and convents the gospel should be preached according to the truth, without being mixed up with any fables, or other human inventions, that so the inhabitants might live in good accord like their fathers.[54]

Hitherto the Genevese had enjoyed the instructions of no teacher of the Protestant doctrine, and any knowledge they had of it was gathered from report and private conversation. But in the month of September 1532, William Farel and Anthony Saunier came to Geneva, on their return to Berne from a visit to the churches in the Valleys of Piedmont. Farel had, from the time he was forced

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to leave Meaux, been assiduously employed in disseminating the truth. After preaching and disputing at Basle, in the principality of Montbéliard, in various parts of Burgundy, and at Constance,[55] he repaired to Berne, and received from the magistrates of that republic a patent and safe-conduct to preach the gospel in those parts of their territory where his native tongue was spoken, including those of their neighbouring allies, "provided these neighbours were willing to receive him."[56] Encouraged by this protection, he introduced the Reformed doctrine into L'Aigle, Morat, Bex, Granson, Bonneville, Bienne, Avenches, Neuchâtel, Orbe, Prévôte, Peyerne, Olon, Valengin, and Lausanne; so that he may justly be viewed as the Reformer of that division of Switzerland, which, on account of the language spoken by its inhabitants, is called Romande or French. In performing this task there was no humiliation to which he did not submit, no labour from which he shrank, no danger by which he suffered himself to be deterred. Sometimes he gained admission under the character of a schoolmaster, and at other times as a priest. When driven from cities by the violence of the mob, instigated by the priests, he retired to the villages, from which he returned with fresh courage to the attack. Those who heard him preach applied to him the words by which the eloquence of Pericles was described: "he lightened and thundered, rather than spoke." When roused by opposition and danger, his voice terrified his adversaries; he was known more than once to silence the trumpets and drums employed to prevent the people from hearing him; and those who had come avowedly for the

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purpose of creating disturbance and offering violence to his person, were, before he concluded his sermon, among the most attentive and eager of his auditors. Farel resembled the Reformer of Scotland more than any of his contemporaries in fervid eloquence and contempt of danger, while he excelled him in bodily vigour and equability of animal spirits. Like Knox, too, he was charged, and not altogether unjustly, with yielding to the impetuosity of his temper, and being deficient in the virtues of gentleness and forbearance.[57] But these were the faults of his temper, betraying him into an excess of zeal; his heart was disinterested, generous, and devoted to the cause of truth.[58]

Farel came to Geneva with Anthony Saunier, his countryman and the companion of his labours, and lodged at the inn of Tour Pourie. He was not ignorant of the state of religion in that city, and readily communicated instructions to such of the friends as repaired to the inn at which he had taking up his lodging, as soon as they heard of his arrival. Finding them ignorant of religion, but willing to be instructed, the two strangers expounded to them the Gospel, and showed them from the Scriptures how far they had been led astray by their priests. The citizens talked with rapture of the doctrine which they had heard, and the apartment of Farel was soon filled with visitors. The clergy, to whom the name of Farel was an object of hatred and dread, no sooner heard of his being in the town, than they complained to the Council, who called the preachers before them, and charged them with raising disturbance in the city. They denied the charge, and produced their letters

of safe-conduct from the Republic of Berne, upon which they were dismissed with an admonition to avoid everything which might disturb the public peace. But they had scarcely returned to their lodging when they received a summons from Beaumont, Vicar-general of the diocese, to appear before the Episcopal Court, and give an account of the doctrine they had preached. Nothing could be more agreeable to Farel than this opportunity of bearing witness to the truth, and he immediately set out with his companion. Two of the syndics accompanied them, to prevent any injury to their persons. As they passed through the streets they were loaded with insults by the mob. In the meantime the ecclesiastical procurator-fiscal had persuaded the clergy not to enter into dispute with the preachers.[59] "Come forward, thou wicked devil, Farel," were the first sounds which the strangers heard on entering the hall. "What mean you by thus going to and fro? What want you here? Why are you come to this city to trouble it?" "I am neither devil, nor a servant of the devil," replied Farel calmly, "but a servant of Jesus Christ. The sum of my doctrine is Christ crucified and risen, and my grand aim is to bring men to place a true reliance on Him. This doctrine I am ready to proclaim to all who have ears to hear it, and am here ready not only to give a reason of my faith, if you will hear me patiently, but also to seal it, if necessary, with my blood." Bergier, one of the assessors, exclaimed, "He blasphemes; it is better to throw this Luther into the Rhone than that the whole city be disturbed." Farel replied, "Speak the words of God, and not of Caiaphas." Upon which

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the whole assembly rose up in the utmost agitation, crying, "Kill, kill this Luther; kill, kill this dog;" while others who wished to be more moderate, cried, in the Savoyard dialect, "Tapa, tapa—strike, strike!" and began to suit the action to the word. In the midst of this confusion, a servant of the vicar-general discharged at him a musket, which burst without doing any harm, Farel exclaiming, "Do not think to frighten me with a *report;* I am not afraid of reports." The syndics with great difficulty restrained the enraged priests, by representing the danger of offending their powerful allies of Berne, and by promising that the preachers should quit the city without delay. Accordingly, Farel and Saunier embarked that night on the Lake, and were convoyed by a number of their friends to the neighbourhood of Lausanne.[60]

This short visit strengthened the Protestant party, though it exposed them to greater danger. Several persons belonging to the principal families in the city, chiefly young men, now espoused their opinions. But not a single female joined their number. "Of the women," says Froment, "there was not at that time so much as one who discovered the least spark of desire to know the truth. On the contrary, they made the most violent opposition to those who attempted to speak to them of the new doctrine, being instigated by the priests, among whom they had brothers, friends, and neighbours."[61]

On his arrival at Granson, Farel met with Anthony Froment, a native of the same part of France with himself, who had followed him as a personal attendant and scholar, and shared in his sufferings and dangers. Knowing his piety and

courage, Farel exhorted him to repair to Geneva, and endeavour, as Providence should afford him the opportunity, to set forward the work which had been begun by himself and Saunier. The young man (for Froment was then only about twenty-two years of age) urged his unfitness for the difficult task, but overcome by the authority of his master, gave his consent, and, being commended to God by the prayers of his friends, set out for Geneva, where he arrived on the third day of November. The description which he has given of his situation and feelings at this time is extremely interesting. He knew no one, he had no means of subsistence, and no place in which to harbour himself. When he discovered the friends of reformation, he found them so discouraged with the reception which Farel and Saunier had lately met with, that they dared not avow their sentiments or compromise their safety by mutual intercourse. In these circumstances he was strongly tempted to return; but resuming courage, he hired a room and issued bills, in which he offered to teach persons to read and write French within a short time, and to give medical advice gratis.[62] The appearance of this bill caused great speculation, and completely answered the purpose for which it was published. Several children were put under his charge, to whom, in the course of his teaching, he expounded the New Testament. Struck with what they heard, the children repeated it to their parents, who were induced to attend themselves, and within a short time the schoolroom was crowded with men and women. Curiosity drew even some of the priests to hear him, and though their jealousy was awakened, yet so far had the schoolmaster gained the

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affections of the people that they durst not inhibit him, but contented themselves with deriding him as mere pretender to knowledge. "Why do you suffer yourselves to be thus enchanted? What can such a young fool know?" To which it was answered, "Such fools teach you to be wise." Among the converts made by Froment was Claudine, the wife of Amy Levet. She had repeatedly refused the invitations of her acquaintances to go with them to hear the strange preacher. At last female curiosity overcame her scruples; but she resolved to arm herself against his sorcery, and therefore went to the hall loaded with a more than usual quantity of catholic and approved amulets. These were, however, unable to resist the force of truth, and when sermon was ended she could not refrain from putting some questions to the preacher, who gave her a copy of the New Testament, and desired her to judge his doctrine by its authority. She read it with deep interest, and the consequence was, that she not only avowed her belief of the truth, but won over her husband and several of their friends to the same faith. As they belonged to families of great respectability in the city, their conversion made a great noise, and the clergy complained loudly of the spread of heresy. On the last day of December the Council came to the resolution that Claude Bernard, Claude Paste, John Goulas, Estienne Donda, with other partisans of the new preacher, should be called before them after dinner, and that the said preacher should also be summoned and charged to leave the city. This appearance was prevented by an occurrence which threw the town into a state of alarm. The Vicar of

Madeleine Church having engaged to prove that Froment had taught heresy, some of the Protestants met with him by agreement, to hear his proofs. As they were discussing the points in dispute over a glass of wine, a band of armed priests entered the house and were proceeding to violence, when the Protestants had recourse to their swords which they had laid aside. Upon this the priests sounded the tocsin; and the two parties would have come to blows in the street had not the lieutenant of justice interfered and restored peace, after seizing some of the most refractory of the aggressors. The Council having met requested the Vicar to punish the priests who had begun the tumult and insulted the lieutenant; they at the same time exhorted the leaders of the opposite party to "cause Froment to cease from preaching, as well as others who preached in private houses throughout the town;" to which it was answered that the Gospel ought not to be hid, and that the conduct of the clergy who refused to obey the decree of the Council of Two Hundred to preach the Word of God, constrained them to hear such as were willing to expound it to them.[63]

Next day being the 1st of January 1533, according to the new mode of reckoning,[64] the hall of Froment was crowded to excess, and the people who could not gain admittance, forced him to leave the house, and moving to the Square of Molard placed him upon a fish-stall, amid the cries of *Preach to us; Preach to us the Word of God.*[65] Yielding to their entreaties, he read the words in Matthew's Gospel, "Beware of false prophets," &c., from which he warned his audience

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of the danger of being deceived by those pretenders to religion who put the commandments of men in the place of the Word of God, and made a gain of godliness, urged upon them the necessity of adding a holy life to their profession of the truth, and inculcated the duty of contending for the truth, against the supporters of Antichrist, by the Word of God, and not by tumults and brawling. When he had begun his sermon the Sheriff came with a message from the Council, ordering him to desist, but Froment, warmed with his subject and the enthusiasm of his audience, merely said, "We must obey God rather than men," and proceeded. Soon after one of his friends who had been watching the motions of the opposite party, came with breathless haste to inform him that the First Syndic, accompanied with a band of priests and citizens, was on his way to apprehend him, but he still persevered, until the audience entreated him to consult his own safety and prevent a tumult. Upon this he descended from the bench and was conducted by an alley to the house of a friend.

The Council met next day, and, in consequence of the complaints made to them, passed a summary and strong decree. They ordained that no one should presume to preach, either in private houses or in public places, without the permissions of the Syndics and the Grand Vicar; that all who shall know of such preachers shall give information of them, that they may be imprisoned and prosecuted according to law; and that if the Vicar decline this, the Syndics, accompanied by their guard if necessary, shall go instantly and seize them. At the same time the Council were convinced of the neces-

sity of doing something to pacify the inhabitants, who complained loudly of the want of religious instruction. They came to the following resolution on the same day: "As many demand the Word of God, it is ordained that he who preached during last Advent in the Convent of St. Francis de Rive, named Christofle Bouquet, whom all relish and listen to willingly, shall be retained as preacher until the ensuing Lent, at the expense of the seven curés of the city, and that he remain during Lent if the Dominicans of the Palais do not provide a preacher of the Word of God, and that a hint be given them to provide as good a one as they can." Before dismissing, the Council had recourse to a method of restoring harmony which was not unusual with them. They ordained that all the citizens, burgesses, and inhabitants should swear with uplifted hands and a loud voice to forget past offences and animosities, and abstain for the future from mutual injuries or reproaches.[66]

This procedure of the Council, while it reveals the deplorable state of ignorance into which the clergy were sunk, shows that the Protestant party had increased both in numbers and respectability. The same thing appears from the treatment of Froment, who was neither seized nor ordered anew to quit the city. On leaving the Molard he went to the house of John Chantemps, whence he removed at nightfall to that of Amy Perrin, in which he remained for some time as a maker of ribbons. Perrin insisted he had a right to employ any one as his servant, but perceiving that his host was exposed to trouble on his account, Froment crossed the Rhone to that part of the city called St.

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Gervais, and acted as assistant to Amy Levet, who was an apothecary. The mob collecting about the door, and throwing stones and mud into the shop, obliged him to leave Geneva, and to return to Ivona, near the Lake of Iverdun, where he had formerly been a minister.[67]

Bouquet the preacher referred to above was a Cordelier, whose mind had been partially imbued with the Reformed opinions. He pleased the Papists by his monkish habit, and the Protestants by his doctrine. But he incurred the suspicions of the clergy, who resolved to rid themselves of him. They started difficulties as to his lodging, provided another Lent preacher, and incited the magistrates of Friburg to complain of him as a Lutheran. The Council agreed to dismiss him with an honorary present, on the alleged ground of avoiding dissension between the favourers of the two preachers; but in reality to avoid displeasing their ally of Friburg.[68] That canton had already shown the most determined purpose to prevent the introduction of the Reformed doctrine into Geneva, by making repeated remonstrances on this subject.[69] Not contented with obtaining the removal of Bouquet it sent a deputation to renew the threatening of a dissolution of the alliance between the two republics; and the Genevese Council, sensible of the critical state in which they were placed from the hostile designs of their bishop and the Duke of Savoy, engaged to persevere in the measures they had taken for the suppression of the obnoxious tenets.[70]

The council had promised more than they could perform. Shut out from public instruction, the people sought it more eagerly in private, and by

shifting the places in which they met, eluded the search of their adversaries. They availed themselves of the services of such preachers as visited the city, especially refugees from France and Piedmont, and, when destitute of these, the most learned of their own number expounded the Scriptures. Amongst these, the most distinguished was John Guerin, an intelligent citizen, by trade a bonnet-maker, who, assisted by a minister named Peter Masneri, dispensed the sacrament of the Supper to them, according to the simple institution of Christ, on the property of Stephen Dada in Pré l'Évêque, without the walls of the city.[71] This happened in the month of March 1533, and on that occasion a great many respectable citizens, both male and female, participated of the sacred feast. At the same time, they, after the example of the primitive Christians, established a fund for the relief of the poor. Thus was a reformed church erected in Geneva, which, in the course of less than three years, spread over the whole territory of the republic.[72]

These proceedings, which could not be long hid, incensed the clergy, and sharpened their vigilance. Olivetan, Froment, and Farel, severally visited their brethren in Geneva, with the view of remaining for some time among them; but they were quickly discovered and driven from the city. The first was banished; the second was with difficulty rescued from the hands of those who were in the act of throwing him over the bridge into the Rhone, and the last escaped after experiencing several indignities. Provoked by this treatment, two citizens, Baudichon de la Maisonneuve and Claude Salomon,

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repaired privately to Berne, and complained of the violence with which the cause of Reform was borne down.[73] In consequence of this the Bernese authorities sent letters to the Council of Geneva, complaining that their request for liberty to have certain books printed had been refused; that those who preached the truth and exposed the glaring abuses in religion were expelled; and that Farel, who was under their protection, had been disgracefully used. The reading of these letters threw the ordinary council into a state of great embarrassment, by obliging them to displease one or other of their powerful allies. It was agreed to take the advice of the Council of Sixty, and in the meantime to summon the persons who were suspected of having procured the remonstrance from Berne. While they were investigating the matter a band of citizens, to the number of about two hundred, entered the hall, complaining that discord was sown in the city by preaching a new faith, demanding justice on those who had gone to Berne, and insinuating that they had been deputed by the Council. They were told that the Council were proceeding in the investigation of the affair; but the leading person of the party persisted in demanding instant justice, and the execution of the promise made to Friburg to live as their fathers had lived; upon which the whole company, waving their hands, exclaimed, "Do justice, and we will support you; suffer us not to be insulted by being called Papists and Pharisees." By soft words they were prevailed on at last to depart peaceably. But two days after, an armed mob organised by the priests, assembled in the church of St. Pierre, and, having sounded the tocsin, and brought out the

artillery, proceeded to the house of Baudichon, to which the Protestants on hearing of the first alarm had repaired with the resolution, if attacked, to sell their lives dear. John Phillippe, one of the syndics, and captain of the guard, who was suspected of inclination to the new opinions, was knocked down; Peter Vandel, a respectable citizen, while exhorting them to lay down their arms, was basely stabbed in the back by Portier, secretary to the Vicar, and every person who ventured to speak of peace was pursued as a Lutheran. That their prey might not escape, they had shut the gates of the city. The cries of the priests in animating the mob were dreadful, and they were only relieved by the lamentations of those who expected every moment to see the father meeting in deadly conflict with the son, and the brother with the brother. The magistrates had attempted in vain to appease them, when certain merchants of Friburg, who happened to be in the city, interposed with success. They addressed themselves first to the priests, reproaching them with acting a part so unbecoming their character as ministers of peace and prayer; but they spoke to the air, or rather to the storm. Their remonstrances had a better effect upon the people, who, after listening for a time, exclaimed, "We will not murder one another to please the clergy; if they have any quarrel with the new religionists, let them settle it between them, or dispute with the Scripture instead of the sword." Perceiving that they would be deserted, the priests agreed to disperse. The Council took hostages from both parties, and issued an edict of pacification, which provided, among other things, that none should preach without

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the permission of the ecclesiastical superiors and the syndics, and that nothing should be preached but what could be proved from the Sacred Scriptures; the first injunction being intended to quiet the priests, and the second to please the Reformed.[74]

After this, the Council finished the investigation of the affair which had occasioned the tumult. Baudichon and Salomon being put on their oath, acknowledged that they had gone to Berne to solicit the interference of that republic in favour of the friends of reform, but cleared the councillors who were suspected of having encouraged them to take that step.[75] They were enjoined to interfere no more in such matters; but the Council having deputed two declared enemies to go to Berne with the answer to the late letters from that Republic, they resolved to follow them; and the deputies, on obtaining an audience of the Bernese Council, were confounded to see Baudichon and Salomon prepared to answer any charges which might be brought against them, and to present a petition in the name of their Protestant brethren, praying them to grant them one of their ministers to preach the pure Word of God, and to use their influence with the authorities of Geneva to obtain the use of a church for him.[76]

From this time the negotiations of Friburg and Berne are intimately connected with the history of the Reformation of Geneva, the former using all their influence to obstruct, and the latter to favour its progress. The interference, as we have seen, began on the part of Friburg; and when we consider the relative position of all the parties, it is impossible to condemn the reformers in Geneva for

seeking aid from Berne, or the conduct of the latter in affording it. At first view it might be thought that the interference was discreditable to the cause, but it was in reality otherwise. The influence of the two foreign powers, in fact, balanced one another; at the same time they kept the two parties of Geneva in check; and by preventing the Council from crushing the Reformed doctrine at the beginning and afterwards from adopting too hasty measures for establishing it, they afforded time for the spread of knowledge and conviction on the controverted points, so that at last the change was made with as little injury to the safety of the State, and violence to the consciences of individuals, as could reasonably be expected from the circumstances of the case, and the maxims by which men were guided in that age. If the proximity of Berne gave them an advantage, this was more than counterbalanced by the influence which Friburg, in conjunction with the bishop and the Duke of Savoy, exerted, by means of the clergy, in Geneva.

It was certainly the interest of Berne to promote the Reformation in Geneva, as tending to counterbalance the preponderance of the Roman Catholic Cantons in the Confederacy. But, on the other hand, it must be allowed that they confined their original demands within the limits of reason and justice; and if they afterwards transgressed these, they could plead the intolerance of their opponents as an excuse. A canon named Vernli, a native of Friburg, having been mortally wounded while with sword in hand he took part in a tumult which the priests had raised in Geneva,[77] the Bernese sent deputies to assist in settling the

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dispute which this occurrence occasioned between the two Republics. The deputies, at an interview which they had with the Genevese Council on the 17th May 1533, after representing to them that the religious differences had occasioned all the tumults which had of late disturbed the peace of the city, advised them to grant freedom of worship to both parties, and to allot one of the seven churches or one of the convents for the use of a Protestant preacher. At a subsequent period (Oct. 11) they appealed to the Council if they had ever, like those of Friburg, insisted on their adopting a particular religion as a condition of alliance with them, and if they had not always exhorted them to live in Christian charity, and to leave every one to his own conscience, without doing violence to any person on account of religion.[78]

In the meantime the Bishop Pierre de la Baume had, by the advice of those of Friburg, returned to Geneva. He was honourably received; and his continuance in the city must have contributed greatly to check the progress of the new opinions; but not contented with throwing the leading Protestants into prison, he embroiled himself with the Council by encroaching on their rights, and being thwarted in his views, abruptly left Geneva, to which he never again returned.[79] His conduct after leaving the place lost him all authority and credit, except with the most bigoted adherents of the Church of Rome. Besides joining the Duke of Savoy, he encouraged the clergy in their refusal to assist in paying the debts which the city had contracted in defence of its independence.[80] Perceiving that the Romish tenets could not abide the test of the Bible, instead of sending able disputants

versed in the controversy, he continued to urge the Council, by letters and messengers, to banish the teachers of the new opinions, and prohibit the use of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue.[81] He was even so reckless as to send an edict, before Advent, prohibiting the preaching of the Gospel, and requiring this order to be publicly proclaimed in the city. When it was read in the Council, the members, without speaking a word, instantly rose, astounded, if not at the impiety, at the gross imprudence of the measure.[82] The bishop caused it to be proclaimed on the lands dependent on his abbey of St. Claude, and a similar proclamation was soon after made in Geneva without the authority of the magistrates.[83] The truth is, that the bishop, trusting to the preparations which he was making without, and the intelligence which he held within, expected at this time to make himself master of the city by force.[84]

In the meantime Froment, as soon as he was informed by his friends of the departure of the bishop, had returned to Geneva accompanied by Alexander du Moulin, called also Canus, a native of Paris. They resided in different parts of the town, and taught for some time in private houses; but being discovered they began to preach in the open air, being protected by their followers, who now formed a numerous party in the city. To counteract their influence, the clergy had sent for Guy Furbity, a Dominican of Mount Montmalian and doctor of the Sorbonne, who commenced preaching during the Christmas holidays. Though his confidence was greater than his talents, yet as the clergy had taken care to spread his fame before him, great

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crowds flocked to his sermons, and, leaving the convent which had been assigned to him by the Council, he took possession of the church of St. Peter. He railed against those who taught the Protestant doctrine in the city, calling them *chimney-preachers*, who led captive silly women, and durst not face the light of day; compared the German heretics to the executioners of Christ, stigmatised those who ate flesh on Wednesdays and Fridays as furious dogs, worse than Jews or Turks, and exhorted his audience to have no dealings with them.[85] Froment, who happened to be present at one of these exhibitions, was unable to restrain his zeal, and rising up began to refute the doctrine of the preacher from the Scriptures. Some of the hearers said, "He speaks well," and there was a call for Furbity to answer on the spot; but the priests seeing their champion disconcerted at the unexpected challenge, exclaimed, "Kill the Lutheran," upon which swords were drawn, and Froment was with great difficulty rescued by his friends, and conveyed to a place of concealment. Du Moulin, having expressed an approbation of his companion's conduct in the porch, as the people were leaving the church, was immediately seized, and being carried before the Council, had sentence of perpetual banishment pronounced upon him.[86] In conducting Froment out of the church, Amy Perrin said to him, "You have spoilt all; things were going on well; all is now lost." "You do not know what you say," was Froment's reply, "all is gained, not lost."[87] It is certain that this occurrence led to the most important consequences.[88]

A letter from the magistrates of Berne com-

plained of these proceedings, and desired Furbity to be apprehended, that he might answer the charges to be brought against him by the ambassadors who were to be sent to Geneva. The Council had already ordained that Furbity should be advised "to preach nothing but the Gospel, for the sake of preventing disturbance." They now endeavoured to persuade the vicar to undertake for the preacher's appearance, but he refused, and being averse to arrest an ecclesiastic, they placed him under a guard of six soldiers, who attended him even when he went to the pulpit.[89]

The bearer of the letter from Berne was accompanied by Farel, who immediately commenced preaching in private houses, though not so privately but that it was known at Friburg in the course of a few days.[90] In the beginning of 1534 ambassadors from Berne and from Friburg arrived in Geneva at the same time, and had separate audiences of the Council during several days. The latter complained that Farel was permitted to preach, and threatened to dissolve the alliance unless the Genevese adhered to the old religion. On this occasion Claude Salomon, a member of council, stood up and avowed his belief of the new doctrine, and his resolution, through grace, to live according to the Word of God and not of man. Chantemps, De Letra, and Bernard, citizens who happened to be present, joined in this declaration; and the latter pleaded an article of the franchises, which said that any edict or ordinance not agreeable to reason ought to be reviewed, protesting, in the meantime, that his liberty should not be restrained until the matter in dispute were duly examined.[91] The ambassadors of Berne, having

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complained of the injuries done to the Reformed, and the calumnies which Furbity had uttered against themselves from the pulpit, demanded payment of the debt owing to them for the succours they had given to Geneva. In this emergency, the canons having declined to contribute to the payment of the debt, and the vicar to call the preacher to account, the Council of Two Hundred, with the heads of families, were called together, and endeavoured to persuade the ambassadors to apply for redress to the Ecclesiastical Court; but they, looking on this as a subterfuge and affront, laid the treaty of alliance on the table, and threatened to remove the seals; declaring at the same time that they would not quit the city until they had received payment of the debt. Upon this Furbity was brought to the Maison de Ville, and ordered to answer the charges which should be brought against him. After refusing for some time to answer before a secular court, he at last consented to give in his replies, and also to engage in a dispute which continued for several days with Farel and Viret, the last of whom had also come to Geneva. The dispute turned upon the power of the Church,[92] the distinction of meats, and the ceremonies used in baptism. Furbity showed no small dexterity in the argument, but was in the end adjudged, with his own consent, to beg pardon publicly for the offence he had given to the lords of Berne; and having failed in his promise, was thrown into prison. An account of the dispute, taken by a notary, was printed in the course of the same year, and had great influence in promoting the reformed cause.[93]

The dispute was interrupted by a tumult, in

which many were wounded, and a Protestant was killed while standing in his shop. Two persons were apprehended for the murder, and among the papers of one of them were found proofs of a traitorous correspondence with the bishop and Duke of Savoy. The opposition which the bishop and clergy made to the execution of this person, who was secretary to the Grand Vicar, and the imprudence of a Cordelier, who had been chosen as Lent preacher, and, contrary to the directions of the Council, introduced the controverted points of religion, contributed to strengthen the party of the Reformers. Farel, Viret, and Froment, who still preached in private, insisted for liberty to defend the truth against his misrepresentations, and the Bernese ambassadors urged their former recommendation, that the use of a church should be granted to the Reformed, with this addition, that they were entitled, as the representatives of an allied state, to have a place of worship allotted to them during their stay in the city. The Council, aware of the offence that this would give to Friburg, evaded the demand as long as they could, but at last told them that they might take one themselves.[94] The report of this having gone abroad, a number of citizens assembled on the 1st of March, and carried Farel to the hall of the Convent de Rive, where he preached to a large congregation. Whether we consider the state of public feeling which it indicated, or the effect it was calculated to produce, we cannot fail to perceive in this occurrence a certain prelude of the approaching fall of the established religion. Farel saw the advantage he had gained, and he was not the person to surrender his post. Truth wanted only a fair field to prevail over

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error in the gross form in which it then appeared, and the patrons of the old religion were themselves conscious of their inability to cope with the zealous and enlightened preachers of the reformed faith. Their only hope lay in being able to silence them by force. For this purpose they put in requisition all the means within their reach—the superstition of the multitude, the powerful support of the canton of Friburg, and the influence of the bishop.

On the day after Farel made his public appearance in the Convent de Rive, Nicole Ducrest, accompanied by several citizens, presented a complaint against him before the Council, insisting to know if the preacher had acted by their authority or with their consent. Soon after, the Bernese ambassadors, entering the Council-room, said that what they had long requested had, without their knowledge, been done "by the inspiration of God," for which they gave Him thanks; and entreated the Council to continue the preachers in the place where Providence had put them. The Council expressed their aversion to interpose in ecclesiastical affairs, and begged the ambassadors, as they were about to return home, to take their preachers along with them, for fear of disturbances which might arise in their absence. The latter repeated what they had said, and urged the Council not to oppose those who had testified such a strong desire to hear the Word of God in purity, adding, in language sufficiently intelligible, that they considered this as a test of friendship to Berne.[95] It is easy to perceive the embarrassing situation in which the magistrates were now placed, but the apparently contradictory nature of their

proceedings must be ascribed in part to policy. By this time the Protestants formed a large party, if not the majority, in the Council;[96] but they were unwilling to push matters lest they should irritate their allies of Friburg.[97] They appointed some of them to converse in private with some of the hearers of Farel, "and if possible with the preacher himself," with the view of inducing them to hold their meetings in the house of J. Tascon, as formerly, and thus to avoid all scandal, until the answer of the ambassadors of Friburg and Berne should be received. In answer to the articles of charge given in by Farel against Coutellier, the Lent preacher, the Council promised that they would not permit any blasphemy against God, or abuse of their excellencies of Berne, but begged him to have regard to their divisions and embarrassments. On the 2d of April, the Council of Two Hundred agreed that he should be told not to ring the bell of Rive to sermon on that day or the following (Good Friday) for the sake of observing the usual custom.[98] This forbearance was shown to the reformed preachers in spite of the violent opposition of those who supported the ancient religion. Ducrest, who had a seat in the ordinary council as one of the ancient syndics, and who was at the head of the Popish party in the city, repeatedly attacked Farel with great violence of language in the Council, and threatened that if a stop was not put to his preaching, the people would lay violent hands on him.[99] But the chief thing which the Reformers had to dread was the opposition of the canton of Friburg. In the course of the month of April, their ambassadors demanded an audience of all the assemblies of the

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State, from the ordinary to the General Council, in which they declared that if determined measures were not taken to suppress the reformation, they would renounce their alliance with Geneva. With difficulty they were prevailed on to defer that step to a meeting of the Helvetic diet, to be held at Lausanne eight days after, when they carried their threat into execution by tearing off their seal from the treaty between the two States. On the same day on which they made their declaration before the General Council, Ducrest rose up, and in the name of his adherents protested that all the loss and injury which might accrue to the State should fall on those who had brought Farel and preachers of the same stamp ; upon which the first syndic, Sept, declared, with corresponding ceremony, that he and the whole ordinary council had long ago protested for damages against those who are the cause of the present differences.[100]

The breach with Friburg, which had been anticipated with alarm by the Protestants, turned out to be of the greatest advantage to their cause. From zeal for the Church of Rome, and jealousy of the Bernese, that canton made a common interest with the Bishop of Geneva ; and many of the adherents of the old faith, trusting to the effect of this union, quitted the city and took up their residence within the territories of its avowed enemies, by which step they brought great odium on their friends who remained behind them. Their number was increased by the detection of a conspiracy between them and their friends in Geneva, to deliver the city to the bishop, which contributed to identify still further the cause of religious reform with that of civil liberty.[101]

The Government of Geneva persevered in the moderate course which they had adopted, giving encouragement to the diffusion of the truth by protecting its preachers, but checking their zeal, and refusing to make any change in the established rites. This prudential management led to certain excesses on the part of the people, who were impatient of delay and irritated by the disputes which were daily carried on between the two parties.[102] Rumours had for some time been in circulation of a design on the part of the Protestants to destroy the monuments of idolatry in the churches and convents.[103] But on the morning of the 24th of May, nine images of stone placed over the gate of the Convent de Rive were found thrown down, beheaded, dismembered, or cast into the water. The authors of this outrage could not be discovered; all that the neighbours when examined could say was that a number of men with ladders were seen at the spot, and that the sound of blows was heard. Though the Council expressed their high dissatisfaction with the deed, it is observable that they characterise it, not as sacrilegious, but "rash and dishonourable to the jurisdiction of the city."[104] By advice from Berne, the Council ordered the statues to be replaced, but this was prevented by the opposition of the people.[105] On the 28th of July, the images within the convent were thrown down and broken; on which occasion the Council came to the decision, "that although such images ought to be removed and destroyed according to the law of God, yet the actors ought not to have done it without orders and permission, because it appertained to the magistrate."[106] After this declaration, the Council

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should have taken the work into their own hand, instead of which they continued to imprison and fine those who from zeal or wantonness did that very thing which according to their own acknowledgment they ought themselves to have done. Nay, at a period somewhat later they condemned a person to the torture for breaking an image.

In the meantime Farel, Viret, and Froment continued to preach with great success in the church belonging to the Convent de Rive, where they not only baptized such children as were brought to them, but dispensed the sacrament of the Supper. A singular circumstance occurred during the first celebration of that ordinance, which was at the time of Pentecost. A priest fully dressed in the habits in which he was accustomed to say mass approached the table; and all at once, to the astonishment of the assembly, having laid aside his robes, made profession of the Reformed religion, and communicated. About the same time, Louis Bernard, a priest attached to the Cathedral, quitted his habit, and was married by Viret to a sister of the celebrated Amy Perrin.[107] The vicar of St. Gervais, irritated by the success of the preachers, attacked them from the pulpit; and being accused of falsehood, disputed before the Council, first with Viret, and afterwards with Farel, "by whom," says the Register, "he was completely routed." When enjoined to preach the gospel in its simplicity, he asked if he was forbidden to preach at all for the future; to which the Council replied that they prohibited him from preaching falsehood but not truth.[10]

Baffled in his attempt to make himself master

of the city by treachery, the bishop launched an excommunication against the magistrates, council, and inhabitants of Geneva, in which he accused them of heresy and rebellion, and forbade all to assist or hold intercourse with them. Soon after he transferred the Episcopal Court to Gex, a town within the territories of Savoy, and delivered up his Castle of Piney to the fugitives from the city, including the Mamelukes. About the same time the Duke of Savoy prevailed on the Pope to excommunicate the Genevese, and presuming that these measures must have struck them with terror, made preparation for another attack on the city. On this occasion the Council acted with equal spirit and wisdom. They pronounced that the bishop, by abandoning the city, joining its capital enemy, and engaging in different enterprises against it, could no longer be considered as its pastor but its declared foe. And having assembled the members of the Chapter, and laid before them a statement of facts, required them, as the See was now virtually vacant, to proceed to choose a Vicar and other necessary officers. The clergy listened to this communication with great coldness, and to their request, "whether they should perform the usual service on Christmas Eve," the Council replied with equal coldness, "that they might do as they thought proper."[109]

In the beginning of the year 1535 it was evident that matters were fast hastening to a complete revolution in the religious establishment of Geneva. Two of the three syndics, and the greater part of the Ordinary Council, were favourable to the Reformation. A majority of the inhabitants were still

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addicted to Popery, but their numbers daily decreased by the withdrawing of the adherents of the bishop and duke, while their opponents were receiving an accession to their number by new conversions, and the arrival of refugees who fled from persecution in France. The clergy incurred great odium by an attempt made to take off the ministers by poisoning their food, from which Viret, the only one who tasted it, suffered severely.[110] In consequence of this the Council ordered apartments to be provided for Farel and Viret, in the Convent de Rive, and the syndics went in person to see them comfortably settled. This was the first act of the Council giving direct countenance to the Protestant ministers.[111] On the same day they gave eighteen florins to a Cordelier who had preached in the Church of St. Germain during Lent to the great dissatisfaction of the Papists, and particularly the female portion of them,[112] and assigned him lodgings in the house of the curé.[113] The Protestant cause derived more than empty honours from these two steps. The curé of St. Germain became a convert to his guest; and a great number of the inmates of the Convent de Rive were gained over by Farel and Viret. A report having been circulated that the canons of St. Peter meant to retire to Annecy, in the territories of the Duke of Savoy, the Council issued orders to secure the registers and effects belonging to the Cathedral; and these orders were extended to the property of the other churches and of the religious houses.[114] This led to discoveries which loaded the priests with confusion, and deprived them of any influence they had hitherto retained over the thinking part of the community.

They had systematically practised the grossest frauds on the credulity of the people. In the Popish Church baptism is deemed essential to salvation, and notwithstanding the privilege conferred on physicians and midwives, there were often instances of children dying without having this ordinance administered to them. But on these being taken to the Augustinian Church of Notre Dame de Grâce, they were resuscitated so as to receive baptism. On investigation, it was found that by means of certain applications, the body was made to move or perspire, on which the ceremony was performed, amidst the ringing of bells, which proclaimed the miracle over the town.[115] In the Church of St. Gervais was discovered a machine emitting sounds, which the priests interpreted as proceeding from the saints buried beneath, who were about to take their leave on account of the indifference shown to their relics, and containing springs which had hold of and retained the chaplets and other offerings presented by superstitious devotees. These and similar instances of false miracles and pious frauds were now detected, and the deposition of the witnesses who had examined them was laid before the proper authorities.[116] They naturally led to a renewal of those acts of violence on images which had ceased for some time. The Council, thinking to put a stop to the practice by making an example, condemned to the torture one Patter, who had broken certain statues belonging to a chapel on the bridge of the Rhone. The consequence of this severe sentence was that a mob, headed by some of the principal citizens, repaired to the Church of St. Peter, and demolished all the statues and paintings with the

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exception of a picture of the Virgin, which was saved by the syndics. The leaders defended themselves before the Council by saying that they did not consider themselves as infringing any law when they destroyed what had been erected contrary to the law of God; after which there were no more prosecutions for image-breaking.[117] Though violent hands were not laid on the priests, some of them were treated with an indignity which two years before would have subjected the city to an interdict.[118]

Among the converts made by the ministers in the Convent de Rive was James Bernard, who had formerly been a great opponent of Farel. He addressed himself to the Council, probably in concert with his new friends, and expressing a desire to give a public account of the reasons which had induced him to change his sentiments, requested liberty to hold a dispute on certain articles which he laid before them. The Council granted his request as calculated to "enlighten the minds of the citizens and restore peace to the Republic." Information was sent to the Chapter to prepare for the defence of their creed, and they were told that they might avail themselves of the assistance of any learned men whom they chose from other places. On their refusal to take part in the disputation, the Council resolved that it should nevertheless proceed, and named secretaries and auditors. On the appointed day John Chapuis, a Jacobin of the Convent de Palais, and Peter Caroli, a doctor of the Sorbonne, appeared in support of the established faith, and disputed against Bernard, who was assisted by Farel and Viret. The dispute, which was carried

on in the presence of the syndics, and lasted during the greater part of a month, led to the conversion of the Popish champions. Encouraged by this circumstance the citizens, who were zealous for the Reformation, urged their magistrates to take steps for abolishing that form of worship which had been convincingly proved to be contrary to the Word of God and idolatrous, but the Council, still adverse to precipitate measures, excused themselves on the ground that the minutes of the late dispute were not yet in a state to be submitted to their deliberative judgment.[119] In this resolution they persisted, even after the preachers had given an account of the dispute, and the secretaries had laid an authentic copy of the proceedings on their table.[120] But the people were impatient. Having assembled in great numbers on the 23d of July, at the Church of Magdalene, they constrained Farel to mount the pulpit. The Council ordered him to confine himself to the churches of Rive and St. Germain; but that intrepid and sagacious Reformer, perceiving the vast importance of pushing the advantages which he had gained, and the danger of yielding to temporising measures at such a crisis, persisted in the course which he had begun, under the cover of an appeal allowed by the constitution to a higher assembly. When called before the Ordinary Council, his speech, though respectful, partook as much of a remonstrance on their duty as an apology for his own conduct. If the Reformation, so much to be desired, had not, he said, prospered so much as it had done by the divine blessing, the Council might, from reasons of policy, have delayed coming to a determination, and even have doubted if it

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were a work of God. But as almost the whole city had declared for the doctrine which he preached, they could not fail to see the finger of Providence distinctly marked on the work. It could no longer be mistaken for His work, and they could not delay coming to a conclusion without fighting against God. As for himself, he was placed in the painful situation of those who were under the necessity of offending either God or men, and who did not hesitate to incur the displeasure of the latter that they might obey the former. "If, noble Lords, you wish to be cheerfully obeyed by the servants of God, issue such commands as are just, and as become those who, like you, have discovered, since the light of the gospel began to dawn on this city, that everything which cannot be proved by sacred Scripture, or which is contrary to it, should be removed from religion. Give then glory to God, and, as Christian magistrates, make the truth to triumph everywhere over error and falsehood, since the most zealous defenders of Popery, confounded in the late dispute, had been constrained to acknowledge the truth of the holy religion preached by us, and to do homage to it by their conversion." He concluded by renewing his demand for the convocation of either the assembly of Sixty or of Two Hundred.[121] The refusal of this request increased the popular agitation, and on the 8th of August, the citizens having assembled in great crowds bore Farel in triumph to the church of St. Peter, where he preached for the first time. He was immediately summoned before the Council, and chid for transgressing their orders; to which he replied that they had shut him up to the course he

had taken, by refusing to grant him a hearing before a higher assembly—a request which was seldom if ever denied. The magistrates could no longer resist a demand which was seconded by the general voice of the inhabitants. Accordingly, on the 10th of August, Farel, accompanied by Viret, some of his late converts from the monks, and many respectable citizens, appeared before the Council of Two Hundred. The occasion was of the deepest importance, for, in the opinion of both parties, the fate of the two religions in Geneva turned on the deliberations of that day. Farel was aware of this, and acquitted himself in a manner worthy of his character and suited to the emergency. He addressed the assembly in a speech replete with that unaffected and manly eloquence which is so much fitted to win an audience to the sentiments of the speaker, and without any mixture of that violence into which he was sometimes betrayed by the warmth of his temper. His discourse turned chiefly on the dispute lately held under the authority of the great council; he touched on the principal points which had been discussed, and then confined himself to the sacrifice of the mass and images, reading extracts from the minutes taken by the secretaries, and showing that these leading points in the Popish worship had no authority in the Word of God; he adverted to the steps which had been taken to induce the clergy to come forward in defence of these doctrines, and their refusal generally to attend the meeting, from which he drew the inference that they shunned the light, and shut their eyes on the truth; he referred triumphantly to the complete failure of those who did appear to support the old faith, as esta-

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blished by their own voluntary confessions; as to the Roman ecclesiastics who opposed the doctrine which he, along with others, maintained, he protested in his own name and that of his colleagues that they wished no harm to their persons, but contented themselves with offering up fervent prayers for their conversion. He then launched out into an encomium on the beauty and sanctity of the doctrine of the Gospel, when stripped of the cumbrous additions by which superstition and human authority had deformed it; after which, yielding to the impulse of zeal for the cause which he was defending, he exclaimed, "We are ready," speaking of himself and his colleagues, "we are ready to seal with our blood the truth of the religion which we announce. We are not afraid of the most cruel death, if it is necessary to support the good cause in which we have embarked. We will cheerfully endure it; yea, we now condemn ourselves to it; provided the priests can make it appear that we have advanced either in the dispute or in our sermons anything contrary to the Word of God." He concluded with an earnest exhortation to the Council to declare without delay either for or against the doctrines which he preached; and then, falling on his knees, he offered up a most impressive prayer, that God would enlighten the minds of all the members of the Council in deliberating on a matter in which His own glory and the salvation of a whole people were so deeply involved.

A deep impression was made by this powerful appeal. But still the Council, steady to their principle of caution, declined coming to an immediate decision. After a long discussion, conducted with

much calmness and order, they came at last to the following resolutions :—First, That the ecclesiastics should be called before the Great Council, to be told the result of the dispute, and to learn from them if they had yet anything to say in support of the mass and images ; Secondly, That in the meantime a stop should be put to the destruction of images, and those which had been thrown down should be restored, provided the priests would show that the use of them was agreeable to Scripture ; and Thirdly, That the celebration of mass in the city should be discontinued until contrary orders were given.[122] Two days after this, the inmates of the several religious houses were called before the ordinary Council, to receive intimation of these resolutions. A summary of the dispute having been read to them, they were asked if they had anything to say against the arguments of the Reformed preachers. They replied that they could say nothing against them ; that they were simple persons who had been accustomed to live as their fathers had taught them ; that they never inquired into such things, and begged to be allowed to do as they had hitherto done. On the afternoon of the same day, the syndics, with two councillors, went, in the name of the Council, to make the same intimation to the canons and parish priests, who refused to hear the summary of the dispute read, or to listen to anything that might be said by Farel ; desiring that they might be permitted to live in their accustomed manner without molestation.[123] An attempt was made by the adherents of the old religion in the Council to delay the final sentence against it, but the argument on which they chiefly rested their plea, shows that their cause had

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sunk very low. They pleaded that nothing should be finally decided until they should obtain the advice of their allies of Berne, who were better acquainted than they with such matters. Accordingly, on the 27th of August, the Council made their provisional act against images and the mass absolute, and appointed the public worship to be conducted agreeably to the Word of God.[124] The paintings in the churches were defaced, and the statues and relics removed.[125] From this time, Farel, Viret, and Froment preached, dispensed the sacraments, and celebrated marriage, as the regular ministers of the city.[126]

The Abbé de Bonmont, vicar of the diocese, accompanied by a number of the clergy, secular and regular, left the city upon this change. They were allowed to depart peaceably, and to take their private property along with them, though it was known that the greater part intended to take up their abode among the declared enemies of the city.[127] The means used to retain the nuns of St. Claire may be viewed as a testimony to their good conduct. When the syndics waited on them to express the wishes of the Council, the good ladies addressed them in these words—"Gentlemen, for the honour of God, be so good as allow us to depart, and give us a convoy so far as Perise, whence we will go to Annecy; for his highness the Duke has allotted us a dwelling there, and invited us thither two months ago, through our relations and friends, to whom we have sent a message to have the place ready for us."[128] They were told that their request should be laid before the Council, and they would receive an answer. Further means were used to

persuade them to remain, and Farel preached to them in the convent on the words of the Gospel, "Mary arose and went to the hill country," from which he proved that though a pattern of sanctity, the Virgin was no recluse. But the Council, finding that they persevered in their resolution, granted them liberty to go when they pleased, and to take their clothes, books, and other property along with them. One of them embraced the Reformation.[129] The rest, to the number of nine, were escorted by the Syndics and Lieutenant. Some of them having been upwards of thirty years immured in a cloister, expressed great alarm at the sight of the cows and oxen which were grazing in the fields, and which they mistook for lions and bears.[130]

The Council now took order with the churches and religious houses with their rents. Several of the churches and monasteries had already been demolished, when measures were adopted for contracting the city with a view to its defence. The Cathedral Church of St. Peter's was now fitted up for receiving a congregation, and public worship was for some time confined to it and St. Gervais, either because these were sufficient for the numbers who attended, or on account of the paucity of Protestant ministers.[131] The Convent de Rive was turned into a public school, and the Nunnery de Ste. Claire into an hospital for the poor and diseased. The jewels and ornaments of the churches and monasteries were sold, and the produce, after providing for such of the priests as embraced the Reformation, was appropriated, along with the ecclesiastical rents, to the support of the hospital. These arrangements were ratified by the General Council or

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assembly of the people, called expressly for that purpose.[132]

1535. These changes were not made without resistance on the part of the possessors of the ecclesiastical goods, or without ebullitions of popular feeling on the part of the Reformed. The priests of the Magdalene refused to yield up their vestments and other ornaments, and while the Council from motives of forbearance delayed to enforce their order, the rabble in some instances commenced the work of private pillage.[133] A considerable number of the Popish priests still remained in the city, where they said mass, baptized and celebrated marriage in private. These practices, together with the fresh discoveries made as to the frauds which they had practised on the credulity of the people, and their vicious lives, irritated the more zealous Protestants against them. The magistrates, however, were disposed to treat them with lenity. It having been reported that those who appeared in sacerdotal dress were in danger of being stripped, as they were disliked by the military, the Council agreed that they should be mildly advised to lay aside their vestments, and to desist from administering the sacraments unless they were prepared to prove that their form was according to the Word of God.[134] The complaints against them being renewed, the Council of Two Hundred ordered them to appear before the ordinary Council, and to be dealt with more closely. They accordingly made their appearance "in great numbers," says the Register. Being asked if they were ready to defend the mass and other points of Popery, they answered that they could not take upon them the

defence of such things for want of sufficient knowledge—"*quia nec sint sufficientes nec sciant.*" They were then told that they were at liberty to call to their assistance learned men from other places, and on their declining this proposal, they were enjoined to desist from the performance of religious service, and to go to the Protestant sermons "to learn how to live." The Council gave them still another hearing on the 6th of December, when they were again asked if they would comply with the orders which they had received. One of them named De l'Orme, said, that he had long performed mass by constraint, and wished to remain in the city. The rest pleaded that if they attended the Protestant sermons they would not be recognised as priests in other places to which they might retire; upon which they were ordered to change their dress and abstain from dispensing the sacraments, or else to quit the city.[135] Individuals among them who remained were at intervals complained of for transgressing the law, and slightly punished.[136]

According to our ideas of religious liberty and the proper business of civil magistrates, the Genevese authorities overstepped their limits in thus prohibiting entirely and under civil pains the ceremonies of the Popish worship. But in judging of their conduct we must not forget the maxims of the age in which they lived and the circumstances in which they were placed. No enlightened person who feels for the best interests of mankind, will be disposed to pass a severe censure on their proceedings, or to identify their conduct with that of Roman Catholic powers at that time. They made no inquisition

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into the private opinions of individuals, and the penalties by which they sought to support their laws about religious matters were moderate, and inflicted with evident reluctance. When we view the complex character of the Popish superstition and hierarchy in connection with the manners of the existing clergy, secular and regular, can we wonder that a people whose eyes were suddenly opened on the truth should have thought it their duty to proscribe such a system of ignorance, imposture and profligacy, and to abate it as a nuisance equally revolting to religion and good morals, and no less degrading to the members of a free state, than it was repugnant to the principles of Christianity and the Bible? Nor must we forget the danger to which the political independence and liberties of Geneva were then exposed from a determined supporter of the Church of Rome, to whose interests the clergy as a body were devotedly attached.

The city was at this time blockaded by the arms of the Duke of Savoy, and the inhabitants were in daily expectation of an assault. In these circumstances nothing but unanimity and mutual confidence could have saved them. The cautious policy of the Bernese Republic reduced them to the brink of ruin, by obliging them to seek the assistance of the French Court, from whose ambitious projects they were preserved by the defeat of the first cordon of troops sent to their succour. This event opened the eyes of their allies to their own interest, and the army of Berne, strengthened by auxiliaries from Neuchâtel, dispersed the Savoyards and raised the siege of Geneva. The conquest which they

made of the Pays de Vaud in this campaign should have been deemed by the Canton of Berne an ample reward for their brotherly assistance: it is humiliating to think that they demanded a part of the Genevan territory in addition, though they were induced to rest satisfied with a pecuniary indemnification. CHAP. III. 1536.

During this struggle the Reformed ministers recommended themselves to the citizens by their patriotic exertions. Farel in particular availed himself of the circumstances in which they were placed to press upon all ranks the necessity of a reformation of manners. In repeated addresses to the ordinary Council and that of Two Hundred, he exhorted them fervently to turn to God, to correct every species of vice among the people, to see that they attended to the Word of God and prayer, to cultivate union among themselves, and to seek the peace of the city and the good of Christendom.[137] At his solicitation the Council turned their attention to the country parishes, and resolved that measures should be taken for extending the reformation and means of religious instruction to them.[138] On the 3d of April 1536, the village priests appeared before the Council. To the question of the first syndic Savoye, if they were willing to live henceforth according to the Evangelical doctrine, they answered at first in the affirmative, but afterwards said they wished to live as their fathers, who were good folk, had lived before them; but if their neighbours altered their mode of living they would do the same.[139] The syndic said they had books which deceived the people, to which they replied they had a Postille on the Gospel.

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Farel, whose attendance had been required, told them that they should to keep the gospel rather than the Postille, which meant, *after it*, adding, says the Register, "many excellent advices." They answered by the mouth of the priest Malva, that all which had been said was true, but requested that a month might be granted them to read the Gospel, and inform themselves better. This was granted with an injunction to them to abstain from all Popish practices, and an exhortation to the people to attend the sermons of the Reformed preachers.[140] "The venerable Messire Guillaume Furbity," doctor in theology,[141] now requested to be heard. He said he had listened to Farel's exhortation to the priests, which in his judgment was entirely accordant with the Sacred Scriptures.

In the course of the summer (1536) the Protestant Church in Geneva was formally organised. According to previous arrangements, the General Council met on the 21st of May. The first syndic Savoye rose in the midst of the Assembly and asked, with an audible voice, if there was any present who knew or wished to say anything against the doctrine then preached in the city. After a pause, during which no one spoke, he next asked if they were ready to give their solemn promise to live according to that doctrine, upon which the whole people assembled arose, and lifting up their hands, promised and sware to God that by His help they would live according to the holy Evangelical religion, and Word of God lately preached to them, renouncing the mass, idols, images, and every other Papal abuse, and that they would live in union, and obedience to justice. The scene was deeply im-

pressive. At the same meeting it was agreed that provision should be made for the instruction of the youth, that all parents should send their children to school, and that such salaries should be given to the masters as should enable them to teach the children of the poor gratuitously.[142]

There was a public school in Geneva before the Reformation. In 1510 the schoolhouse is called a new building. It was situated near Rive, opposite to the convent of the Cordeliers; and there was a place near it called *D'arrière l'Ecole*, where they played at crossbow.[143] On the 15th of May 1528, Crespin the rector, or head-master of the school, having left the place, another person was employed on trial. On the 3d January 1531 the schoolhouse was ordered to be shut until a master was found, as the children were destroying it.[144] January 17, 1533, Jean Christin was appointed master for three months, with a salary of five florins a month.[145]

The old house being cold, and liable to great interruption from the noise of labourers through the day and of watchmen by night, the Council, on the representation of the rector, ordered him to remove with the scholars to the Convent de Rive, where there were empty rooms and a large hall.[146] The masters of the school appear to have been all priests and hostile to the Reformation. In consequence of their refusal to remove to the Convent de Rive, the two assistants were thrown into prison;[147] and the rector, Christin, scrupled to conform to the new laws as to religion.[148] Complaints being made that the children were neglected, the Council, after some delay, superseded Christin, and made Anthony Saunier, who first came to

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Geneva with Farel, and had lately returned to it, rector in his place, with a good salary, and the assistance of two regents.[149] There was also a school for girls established.[150]

The ministers of the city at this time were Farel, Viret, Froment, and Christofle or Fabri. In the country parishes Henry de la Mare was pastor of Jussy,[151] and Satigny, Cologny, Russin, and probably some other places, had either stated ministers or preachers. For some time the ministers were supported by an allowance from the Council, but afterwards the ecclesiastical revenues in the several parishes were appropriated to them, though it would appear that these had been reduced by allotments to the hospital and otherwise.[152] From the first establishment of the Reformation in Geneva, the observance of all holidays, with the single exception of the Christian Sabbath, was abolished.[153] This cannot be imputed to any indifference to either prayers or preaching. Besides the ordinary hours of public worship, there was a sermon appointed every Lord's Day at four o'clock in the morning for servants.[154] The establishment of the Reformation was accompanied by laws against vice and profaneness. Proclamation was made against whoredom and blasphemy, and innkeepers were prohibited from allowing profane swearing, or playing at cards or dice, and from giving drink to any person during sermon, especially on Sunday, or after nine o'clock at night.[155] Amy Cortet, the lieutenant of the city, was confined for three days on bread and water, and afterwards deprived of his office, for keeping a concubine.[156]

Such great changes, especially when accom-

panied with so rigid a superintendence over morals, could not fail to be displeasing to many. The words of the sagacious Bonnivard to those who took the first steps in the work of reformation now turned out to be a prophecy; and it is singular that he should himself have furnished an exemplification of their truth. In spite of his wisdom and the public spirit which he had displayed, there are not wanting proofs that the ex-prior of St. Victor's had not escaped from the vices of his order, and that he found some difficulty to contain himself within the limits prescribed by a reformed code of laws.[157] Few have confidence to complain of being restrained from acts grossly immoral, how reluctantly soever they may submit to it; but the Council gave occasion for complaint, by obliging, at the suggestion of the ministers, all, and especially those in public office, to attend the Protestant sermons, which afforded a plausible plea for resistance to others beside those who felt conscientious scruples. Several councillors were summoned for absenting themselves from church. One of them, Balard, an ancient syndic, defended himself by reminding his brethren of the arguments which they had themselves very lately employed. Being asked why he refused to hear the Word of God, he replied that he believed in God who would teach him by the Spirit, but could not believe in the preachers; that the citizens ought not to be constrained to go to sermon against their consciences; and that the Protestants themselves had said at the beginning of this affair, that no one should exercise dominion over conscience. Being asked if he was ready to assign any good reason for not complying with the

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public order, he answered, "I wish to live according to the Gospel, and not according to the interpretation of any particular individual, but according to the interpretation of the Holy Spirit by the holy church universal, in which I believe."[158] Being again asked if he was ready to comply, he said, he must first be taught by a higher authority than that of such preachers; on which he was told that if he went not to sermon with his family, he must quit the town within six days. This decision was confirmed by the Council of Sixty, but we find Balard afterwards employed to audit the accounts of the treasurer, and still in the city on the 24th of November, when his shop was shut, and he was told that "he must do as others and go to the sermon."[159] Others without professing any attachment to Popery insisted that they should be allowed to live at liberty, and not subjected to the remonstrances of the preachers.[160] Thus it is that compulsion in religion defeats its own object, prejudices persons against the truth, and enables them to impart an air of reason to conduct which rests on the most unreasonable of all things, implicit belief in human authority, or which may be traced to sheer obstinacy, or to some principle still more reprehensible. We see all this, and we condemn it, with a severity which a fuller acquaintance with the circumstances of those who committed the fault would teach us to mitigate, while we perhaps cherish opinions equally removed from sound reason, and flatter ourselves that we are in the right, merely because we keep at the greatest distance from an extreme, into which we are under no temptation to run.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III.

[1] Spon, *Hist. de Genève*, tom. i. p. 27, note (m).

[2] In an agreement entered into in 1155 between Ardutius, Bishop of Geneva, and Aimé, Count of Genevois, with the view of putting an end to the injuries which the latter had done to the former, it is declared, *inter alia*, that "Comes est et bonus advocatus sub episcopo esse debet." (Spon, *Preuves pour l'Histoire de Genève*, No. iii.)

[2b] See article from Galiffe entitled, "Geneva a mercantile people."

[3] In consequence of what they suffered by sending at the request of the Bishop some troops to defend the Valleysans against the confederated Cantons of Switzerland, they obtained in 1477 a letter from the Bishop with concurrence of the Chapter, declaring that the citizens and inhabitants of Geneva should not be bound for the future, either by him or his successors, to take arms for any foreign prince or state, but solely for the defence of the city, its suburbs and territory. (Spon, *Preuves*, No. lvii.)

[4] See particularly the decree of the Emperor Frederic in 1162, called the Golden Bull. (Spon, *Preuves*, No. vii.)

[5] See the letter of Pope John VIII. to the clergy and people of Geneva in Spon, *Hist.*, tom. i. p. 35, note (t).

[6] Comp. Flournois, *Remarques sur les extraits*, under the heads *Pleading* and *Vulg. tongue.*

[7] This of course did not include the trial of ecclesiastics who claimed exemption from the civil power. In May 1st, 1472, "the three members of the city" ("trois membres de la ville") are mentioned; viz., the Chapter, the Episcopal Council, and the Council of the city. The first seems to have judged in matters ecclesiastical; the second in civil and criminal causes relating to the clergy; and the third in what related to the citizens and common good. (Flournois, *Remarques sur les extraits des Régistres Publics*; art. *Trois*, etc.). Frequent collisions must have taken place between so many authorities, whose powers were far from being accurately defined.

[8] This gave the syndics power over the clergy during the night. In 1505 a young lady was carried off by John Braset, a canon. The minute of council respecting this outrage contains the following words:—"Attento præsertim quod post solis occasum Nob. Syndici super quibuscunque personis habeant omnimodam jurisdictionem." *(Extraits des Régistres Publics écrits en Latin.* M. le Clerc, ad Jan. 21, 1505.)

[9] Spon, i. 70. This deed was printed in the year 1507, and is

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not included in the *Preuves* published at the end of the second edition of Spon's History. Moudon, Nyon, Morges, and other cities in the Pays-de-Vaud, subject to the Duke of Savoy, claimed and obtained the ratification of similar privileges. (*Documens relatifs à l'Histoire du Pays-de-Vaud*, pp. xiv-xvii.)

[10] In 1447, the Bishop, Jean-Louis, took steps for establishing a perpetual alliance between the Helvetic body and Geneva, but, the citizens opposing it, he was obliged to restrict it to a treaty during his own lifetime. (Spon, i. 94.)

[11] Flournois remarks that while the Bishop, the Duke, the Vidomne, and all other officers, took oaths before the Syndics on entering the city, or on assuming their charges, the Syndics took no oath to any of them. (*Remarques sur les extraits des Régistres Publics;* Art. *Liberté de Genève.*)

[12] Spon, tom. i. p. 112, note (o), and p. 120, note (x).

[13] *Eidgnots* has, not without good reason, been considered as the proper origin of the name *Huguenots*, given to the Protestants of France. See *Museum Haganum*, tom. iv. part i. pp. 152-162.

[14] Spon, i. pp. 120-157.

[15] Bonnivard, prior of St. Victor, who was intimately acquainted with Berthelier, says that he deserved the title of republican more than any man he ever knew, and informs us that he said to him one day, "The love of liberty will cost you your benefice and me my head." The heroism with which he suffered produced a deep sensation; and the following lines, made in allusion to the words in Psalm cxv. 17, which he had uttered on his trial, struck terror into the hearts of his persecutors :—

> Quid mihi mors nocuit? Virtus post fata virescit.
> Nec cruce nec sævi gladio perit illa Tyranni.

[16] Spon, i. 157-185.

[17] *Ibid.* i. p. 172, 181-2.

[18] *Ibid.* p. 199, comp. p. 190.

[19] Bonnivard, *De l'Ancienne et Nouvelle Police de Genève.* Flournois, *Remarques sur les extraits des Régistres Publics*, ad Feb. 23, 1527. Flournois says the "grand Conseil" in former times was usually called "Le Conseil des 50 *quinquagenarium*," because it consisted of fifty persons, not counting the "Conseil Ordinaire," though a much greater number was sometimes added to it. Even after the change the Council of 60 was called by the old name "le Conseil des 50," and the title of "Grand Conseil" was sometimes given indifferently to that of 60 and of 200. Aimé Porral, on assuming the office of secretary (23d February 1527), calls the "*Petit Conseil*" the "Conseil des 25,"—a name which it had never before received; and the "grand Conseil extraordinaire," which was summoned February 24th, 1526, "un Conseil des 200 fort général;" but, adds Flournois, the first time the *Conseil des* 200 properly so-called is mentioned is on April 20th, 1527.

[20] Bonnivard states that an aged person who had been often Syndic in the time of Duke Philibert.(from 1497 to 1504), when they went to the

Maison de Ville in summer, they caused all the windows to be thrown open, that they might enjoy the fresh air; they then talked of the ships which the Duke and his brother, the Bastard, were constructing, after which they caused their allowance to be brought, which was a *sou* and a glass of Malmsey, upon which they retired and fed on the common good, which did not then amount to more than 3000 florins. After the forcible entrance of the Duke into the city, and in order to pay for the army of Friburg (1519), a tax on flesh was imposed, which produced 5000 florins, and thus raised the revenue to 8000 florins. (*De l'Anc. et Nouv. Police.*)

[21] Spon, i. 200-202.

[22] *Ibid.* i. 212-213.

[23] There were a prior and nine monks in the Monastery of St. Victor. The nuns of Ste. Claire at the establishment of the Reformation do not appear to have exceeded thirteen. (Spon, i. 259, note (r).)

[24] Flournois, *Remarques sur les Extraits des Régistres Publics*, art. *Chanoines.* Scaliger states that the Canons of Geneva were all Apostolical Notaries. (Scalig. Secunda, Art. *Genève.*)

[25] Enquête contre un Évêque de Genève. Spon, *Preuves*, pp. 401, 441. Pierre de Sissons, who held the See between 1213 and 1219, is the prelate referred to; and though he had incurred the displeasure of his Chapter, it does not appear that he had conducted himself worse than his predecessors or successors.

[26] Flournois, *Remarques*, under the head of Lent Preachers. *Fragmens Hist. avant la Réformation*, 25th December 1486.

[27] Flournois, *Remarques* under the head of Ignorance of the Priests; speaking of the "Prédicateur de Carême" (in 1528), he says, "On lui donne le salaire ordinaire, qui est ff. 17 : 6."

[28] Le Clerc, *Extraits des Rég. Publics*, February 29th and March 13th 1516. See an account of a singular preacher, a Cordelier, an. 1517, in Flournois, *Remarques*, Art. *Singular Cordelier.*

[29] Formerly when the priests fell into any irregularity of life, they were suspended, and sent to Rome to do penance, but afterwards a pecunial fine was substituted. (Spon, *Preuves*, p. 414.)

[30] I shall only mark the dates under different heads of the acts of Council which Flournois has collected on this subject.

Dissolute lives of the Cordeliers de Rive, September 2d 1483, June 13th, July 11th, November 28th 1486; June 24th 1491; June 20th 1503 (they refuse to be reformed); May 10th 1527, and May 4th 1534.

Dissolute lives of the Jacobins or Dominicans de Palais, July 22d 1513 (on which occasion Frère Marchepala and some others are accused of an unnatural crime); June 20th and 23d 1522.

Dissolute lives of the Augustinians de Notre Dame de Grâce, August 29th 1483, and September 9th 1491.

Dissolute lives of the priests. October 10th 1513; July 12th 1527; April 1st 1530, and August 18th 1534.

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The Register contains nothing unfavourable as to the nuns of Ste. Claire, and it seems ungenerous in Flournois to say of them, *Si non castiores saltem cautiores.* Their sisters of the order of St. Francis were not equally unblameable: "Prædicator Magdalene dixit quod omnes mulieres, quae gesserant et gerunt in præsentiarum habitum Divi Francisci erant ribaldae et meretrices." (Le Clerc, *Extrait des Rég. Pub.* in Latin, June 10, 1516.)

[31] Spanheim, *Geneva Restituta*, p. 22. Ruchat, *Hist. de la Réform. de la Suisse*, tom. ii. p. 277.

[32] Roset, *Extraits des Rég. Publics*, Dec. 10, 1535.

[33] In the Register, 22d May 1524, mention is made of "un prisonnier au château de l'Isle pour crime d'hérésier." Upon this Flournois remarks that the words *hereticus* and *heretica*, in the style of the original, mean *sorcier* and *sorcière*, called *herege* in the language of the country. This use of the words continued for some time after the Reformation. For example, in January 2, 1538, the Register speaks of "femme hérétique soupçonnèe d'heregerie," and on the 8th of the same month another is mentioned as "hérétique," because "she caused the sheep to die." (Flournois, *Remarq.*, Art. *Heretiques.*) May 13, 1527, "Fuit propositum de quadam heretica et de quodam sacrilego detentis." They were condemned to be beheaded. In a note Le Clerc says, "Sorcière: a voce *heretica* formatur vox vernacula *herejox, herege* quae significant *sorciarium, sorciariam.*" (*Extraits des Régistres escrits en Latin.*)

Those who practised sorcery and witchcraft were considered as having renounced their baptism, and the trial of this crime was committed as a species of heresy to the inquisitors.

[34] "Prieur et quelques moines du Couvent de Palais apres plusieurs debats au sujet de l'office de l'Inquisition, consentent a priere du Conseil que Frere F. Martin religieux du dit couvent exerce cet office encore quelque temps." (Flournois, *Extraits*, 22 Juin 1529.)

[35] Spanheim, *Genev. Rest.*, p. 32-3.

[36] Flournois, *Extraits des Rég. Publics*, 17 Janvier 1528.

[37] Flournois characterises him as "grand ennemy de la Messe, et hardis a tout entreprendre sans craindre des suites." Galiffe informs us that in 1513 he compounded with Jeanette, widow of Meynard Sautier, for the murder of her son Claude. He charges him also with playing a base part in 1533, by exciting the Bernese to force the Reformation on his fellow-patriots, adding that "he became one of the most fanatical disciples of the Reformation." This and similar epithets applied to the Reformers show the leanings of the learned author. (*Not. Généal.*, tom. i. p. 387.)

[38] See Flournois, *Remarq.*, Art. *Eating flesh during Lent*, on 8th Feb. 1528.

[39] In 1519, Bonnivard was deprived of his priory by the Duke of Savoy. (Spon.)

[40] Spanheim, 34-35.

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[41] In September 1536, the Council allow Bonnivard a pension of 200 crowns a year, and give him the house inhabited by P. Gruet,* Chanoine, to belong to him and his legitimate children, "pendant qu'il vivre honestement dans la ville, et non autrement." He is also made a burgess (Flournois, *Extraits*, Sept. 4, 1536). He involved himself in debt, had a tutor appointed to him, and was more than once in prison. (Vide *Ext.* March 14, 1539; May 9, 1539; June 11, 16, and 25, 1545; Aug. 30, 1548.)

[42] Flournois, *Extraits*, Feb. 7, 1528, *i.e.* 1529. This is the first time the word Lutheran occurs in the registers. April 24, 1530, the Council of Two Hundred agreed to return an answer to the ambassadors of the King of Hungary and the bishop, that it was judged proper to supersede the proclamation of indulgences for the plague, and to say "que, pour nous, nous sommes prêts à rendre nostre devoir, mais que nos voisins sont nos ennemis, et que nous ne savons point d'intelligence que le Duc de Savoye peut avoir pour detroire la ville." (*Ibid.*)

[43] Spon, i. 186-199. Ruchat, iii. 210-225.

[44] *Fragmens de Grenus*, p. 148.

[45] Spanheim, 35-36.

[46] Ruchat, iv. 129-137.

[47] Spon, i.

[48] Pretres. "Ordonne en 200 que dorenavant ils ayant à laisser leurs bordeaux, leurs putains, et leur lubricité" (Flournois, *Extraits*, Avril 1, 1530). "Antoine l'Hote, religieux de Palais, ayant fait un grand insulte en la ville, qu'on lui donne 3 traits de corde, et que soi banni en perpétuité" (*Ibid.* Oct. 31, 1530). The same year, Aug. 12, it was decreed that if M. Le Vicaire did not take cognisance of the case of a priest who had been guilty of a heinous crime, the Council would enter on it themselves. (*Ibid.*)

[49] "Maccabees—Ordonne que Mess. les syndics leur aillent encore une fois dire si veulent bailler pour le fortification de la ville et s'ils refusent, qu'on prennent leur pré." On 16th of same month, a demand had been made upon this religious corporation for 500 *ecus sol* to help in fortifying the town. Oct. 31, 1531, certain *Chanoines* (who had probably been banished for refusing payment) having returned to the city, are ordered to retire within two hours, as the Council cannot promise for their safety. Oct. 24, the Council of Sixty order the priests to pay the sum which the town owes to Basle (Flournois, *Extraits*).

[50] *Chroniques de Roset*, livre ii. chap. 46.

[51] *Ibid.* livre ii. chap. 50.

[52] Not *Verli*, as in Spon.

[53] Spon, i. 213-215; Ruchat, iv. 298-300; Roset, *Chroniques*, livre ii. chap. 66, 67. A papal Nuncio, returning through Chamberri to Rome, addressed a letter to the syndics, citizens, and community of Geneva

* Pierre Gruet was vicar of the bishop before 1527, when the Abbé de Beaumont was put in his place. (Spon, i. 183, comp. 189.)

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(July 8, 1532), inquiring into the truth of a report he had heard, that the impious and abominable heresy of the Lutherans had made great progress among them. The Council merely told the messenger to say that "they would live Christianly, according to God and the law of Christ" (Spon, i. 215).

[54] This decree, which throws considerable light on the state of religious feeling in Geneva, is translated by Flournois (see *Extraits*, June 30, 1532).

[55] Gerdes, iv. 30 ; Ruchat, i. 232-236, 391.

[56] Ruchat, iii. 12.

[57] The censures of Erasmus, who called him "Phallicus Gallus," are not so much to be regarded, as no two men could be more opposite in their tempers and modes of acting. But Œcolampadius, who was a more impartial judge, reckoned it necessary to caution him against intemperance : "You are sent to evangelise, not to curse ; I commend your zeal, provided gentleness be not wanting. There is a time for pouring in wine and oil. Act the evangelist, not the tyrannical ruler" (Gerdes, iv. 30).

[58] The following letter, written by Farel, Dec. 15, 1529, to his brethren at l'Aigle, during his first mission to Neuchâtel, will remind some readers of the feeling and language of Knox on a similar occasion :— "Health, grace, and peace, dear brethren ; I am unwilling to conceal from you what Christ hath wrought in His own, while beyond all expectation He hath so moved the hearts of multitudes, that, in spite of the tyrannical prohibitions and hindrances of the shavelings, they have flocked to the Word, which I have preached at the doors of the rich, on the streets, in areas, and in houses, to persons eager to hear, and, which is still more wonderful, the most of them, believing what they heard, though it was directly opposed to errors deeply imprinted on their hearts. Wherefore, brethren, give thanks to the Father of mercies, who hath made His grace to light on the grievously oppressed ; and take my absence in good part, for God is my witness, it is not owing to unwillingness to bear the Cross along with you, with whom I wish to live and die. The glory of God, and the thirst of all here for the Word, compel me to endure trials still heavier, and which it is not easy for tongue to express ; but Christ, whose cause is dear to you, and I pray it may be still dearer, makes all light. Beseech the Lord to perfect what He hath begun." (MS. Life of Farel, in the Library of Geneva. Kirchhofer, *i. 115.*)

[59] "Si disputetur (said he, in his elegant Latin) totum mysterium nostrum destruetur."

[60] Froment, *Actes et Gestes Merveilleux de la Cité de Genève, nouvellement convertie à l'Évangile ;* MS. Roset, *Chroniques de Genève*, livre iii. chap. i. ; Spanheim, *Geneva Restituta*, pp. 42-46 ; Spon, i. 215-217.

[61] Froment adds, "Je ne parle pas plus avant pour cette heure pour sauver l'honéteté des dames" (*ut supra*).

[62] The following is a translation of this singular Bill:—"There is a person come to this city who will teach all, male and female, young and old, to read and write French in the course of a month, though they never have been at school; and if, at the end of a month, they cannot read and write, he will take nothing for his pains. He will be found at the great hall of Boytet, near the Molard, at the sign of the Golden Cross. And he also cures many diseases for nothing" (*Actes et Gestes*).

[63] Flournois, *Extraits des Registres*, Dec. 31, 1532.

[64] The Council agreed at this time that the commencement of the year should be reckoned, not from Easter as formerly, but from Christmas, and thus the 26th of December was the first day of the year. The title of a new book of the Registers is,—*Duplum Libri Consilliorum hujus Civitatis Gevenn. Anni a Nativitate Dni. Millesimi Quingentesimi Tricesimi Tertii incipit.* And the first minute begins, "D. Jovis xxvi. mensis Decembris, anni a Nativitate Dni. Sumpti 1533." But it seems to have been soon altered to the first of January.

[65] The following presents a fresh copy of the impression which the scene made on the preacher himself. After mentioning their having lifted him on the bench, he adds, "Crioyant encore plus fort, hommes et femmes, 'Prêches nous! prêches nous la parolle de Dieu.' Auxquels (Froment) respondit a haulte voix, 'C'est aussi celle que demeurera eternellement;' et leur fit signe de la main qu'ils fissent silence, et se teurent. Le peuple etant appayse commenca a precher, se mettant a genoux, a terre, levant ses yeux au ciel, avec larmes et joincts mains, exhortant le peuple d'invoquer Dieu avec lui, s'elevant sa voix si hault que un chaseur l'entendoit parler, comme si fussent tous aupres de lui disant." (*Les Actes et Gestes Merveilleux.*)

[66] Flournois, *Extraits des Registres*, Jan. 2, 1533.

[67] Froment, *ut supra;* Spanheim, pp. 53, 54; Ruchat, iv. 318, 319.

[68] *Registres*, Jan. 13 and 31, Feb. 10.

[69] *Ibid.* June 24 and July 21, 1532.

[70] *Ibid.* Feb. 25, 1533; Spon, i. 220, 221.

[71] This fact is stated by Froment, who had the best opportunity of being acquainted with the circumstances. His words are:—"Y avoit ung bonetier, nomme Mre. Guerin, scavant es Escriptures sanctes, de bonne vie et conversation qui enseignoit et preschoit par les maisons secrettement en leur assemblees; avec lequel se trouva ung autre scavant homme, Pierre Masneri, ministre, et qui en passant fust longé chez Claude Paste, qui fit aussi devvoir a les instruir; et firent la premiere cene de nostre Seigr. Jesu Christ selon son institution," etc. "Ce non obstant, Guerin, qui la bailla, fust constraint de s'en aller," etc. (*Actes et Gestes.*) Some may be ready to take offence at a layman and a bonnet-maker celebrating the communion; but few, I trust, will think that he was less qualified for performing the service than an ignorant or licentious priest, upon whose head some bishop, not better than himself, had happened to lay his hands.

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[72] Froment; Spanheim, 55; Spon, i. 221. Guerin, being forced to leave the city, joined Froment, went to Montbéliard, and afterwards became a minister in the territory of Neuchâtel.

[73] Those who candidly weigh the circumstances of the case will not feel disposed to subscribe to the following censure of a modern writer, "Le troisième Baudichon de la Maisonneuve joué un fort vilain rôle en 1533, en taschant d'exciter MM. de Berne contre ses compatriotes pour les forcer d'embrasser la Réformation." (Galiffe, *Not. Généalog.*, i. 387.)

[74] Flournois, *Extraits*, Mar. 25-28, 1533; Roset, *Chroniques*, livre iii. chap. 10; Le Clerc, *Extrait*, Mar. 28, 1533; Ruchat, iv. 325-334; Spon, i. 222-225; Spanheim, 57-60.

[75] The suspected councillors were J. Phillippe, J. Lullin, Mich. Sept, Est. Chapeaurouge, Fr. Favre, and Cl. Roset, all of whom, I believe, afterwards declared in favour of the Reformation (Flournois, Mar. 29, 1533). That the council was already divided on the religious question is evident from the words of the minute, ordering proclamation to be made of the restored harmony: "Fuerunt eodem die de mandato *utriusque partis concilii* Syndicum et Principis factæ Cridæ," etc. (Le Clerc, *Extrait*, Mar. 25, 1533).

[76] Spon, i. 225, 226; Flournois, *Extraits*, April 11, 1533.

[77] Flournois, *Extraits*, May 4, 1533. The Minute of Council, giving an account of this tumult, begins thus, "Quis est qui dicat manum Dni. fortiorem; Dnus. mirabilis fortis et potens in prælio; rerum eventus solus Dnus. videt" (Le Clerc, *Extraits du Reg. Publ. écrits en Latin*).

[78] Ruchat, v. 40-61; Flournois, May 27, 1533.

[79] Froment, *Actes et Gestes*, chap. ix. The bishop left Geneva, July 15, (Spanheim, 62).

[80] Flournois, *Extraits*, Aug. 30, 1533. "The canons replied to the syndics who had asked them to assist in paying the debts of the city, that they would quit the city sooner than give anything" (*Ibid.* Oct. 3).

[81] *Registres*, Oct. 24, 1533; Ruchat, v. 64.

[82] "Lettres de nostre Rever. Prince, de ne prescher point l'Evangile, avec les cries sur ce sujet; on n'opine point sur ces lettres parceque tout le Conseil apres leur lecture se leve et sort, tout etonné de ce qu'on defendoit de prescher l'Evangile dans le temps qu'on accoutoumé de la lire et de la prescher." (Flournois, *Extraits*, November 30, 1533.) On the 2d of December the bishop's letter was read a second time, and thought to be exorbitant both in the prohibition to preach the gospel and in the penalties it enjoined. It was resolved to consult the Ecclesiastical Court, and to have the cries according to the form used in March last. (*Ibid.*) One would be inclined to suppose that the bishop used the word *Evangile* as synonymous with *Lutheranisme*. That this was sometimes done about this period appears from the circumstance that when the Roman Catholic deputies of Villette came to consult with their brethren of Lutry as to the best means of opposing

the Reformation (October 15, 1536), they told them that they were resolved to hold a General Council, "pour savoir ceux qui voudraient à l'ancienne loi ou à l'Evangile" (Ruchat, vi. 332). It is however a strong objection to this view that the Council seem to have understood the word literally.

[83] "Crie faite par les paroisses, de ne point lire les saintes lettres ni le Sancte Evangile de Dieu, quelques uns l'apportent en 200, ou personne n'en fut content, et cependant on ne fit rien la dessus." (Flournois, *Extraits*, January 1, 1534.) The words as given in the Latin Register (which is the original) are "Tandem *quidam* attulerunt Cridam hodie per parochias publicandum," etc. (*Le Clerc.*) Ruchat, on the authority of Lavion and others, states that the bishop's letter commanded all who had Bibles in French or German to burn them under the pain of excommunication (v. 71).

[84] Froment, *Actes et Gestes*, chap. ix.

[85] In giving the salutations usual on Circumcision or New Year's Day, he added: "May God convert the Lutherans, and if they refuse to turn to him, send them a fit of the ague.. Let them wear the mittens who think they fit them"—"qui veut si prennent ses mittaines" (*Dispute tenue à Geneve l'an* MDXXXIV.).

[86] Froment says Du Moulin was condemned to death, but that Baltizard and certain other Nicodemites in the Council prevailed to have the sentence changed into banishment on the ground of his being a stranger and a Frenchman. He adds: "A great many people followed him from curiosity without the gate of St. Gervais, *auprè de la monnaye*, where he delivered to them a discourse of two hours, which won many souls to Christ." Du Moulin afterwards suffered martyrdom at Paris.

[87] Froment, *Actes et Gestes*, chap. ix. Flournois, *Extraits des Reg.*, December 2, 1533. Ruchat, v. 5, 6.

[88] The number of Protestants in the city amounted to about 400 in the end of the year 1533 (Ruchat, v. 71).

[89] Flournois, *Extraits*, December 22, 23.

[90] See what is said in Flournois on this head, December 22.

[91] Flournois, January 7, 8, 1534.

[92] The question of Episcopal authority was also discussed, and Farel proved from the Scriptures and from Jerome that bishops and priests or presbyters were the same (Ruchat, v. 114-119).

[93] Farel, in a letter to Fabri or Libertat, dated May 22, 1534, requests him, "faire imprimé a Neufchastel, au noms des freres ce qui c'estoit passé en un rencontre de dispute avec Furbity." It would appear however from the "Typographus Lectori," prefixed to the second edition, that the work was printed at Vienne. The second edition, in French, with a Latin translation by Francis Monget, was printed at Geneva in 1634.

[94] On the 22d of February the Bernese ambassadors made a representation to the Council, in which they complained of the conduct of the

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Lent preacher, and of the disrespectful language used by the populace against them and their chaplains, who were said to preach to swine in a stye, and begged the rescinding of the Act banishing Alexander du Moulin, as it had been proved that the charges he had brought against Furbity were well founded, and concluded by saying that they had received special instructions from their constituents to insist that they should be allowed the use of a church during their stay in the city, in which they promised nothing should be spoken against the mass or images. The Council replied that they had nothing more at heart than to see the Word of God purely preached in the city, but begged them in present circumstances not to insist for the use of a church, adding however, "Toutefois, que s'ils prennent eux-memes une place, ils sont puissants, et nous ne pouvons ni n'osons leur resister." The request was repeated on the 1st of March, and received the same answer (Flournois, *Extraits des Registres*).

[95] The words are, "qu'ils savent que ceux qui aiment les Bernois ne seront point contraires a ceux qui recherchent la parole de Dieu." (Flournois, *Extraits*, March 2, 1534.)

[96] See the names of the members of Council in Flournois, *Extraits*, November 13, 1534.

[97] It would appear that some of the Protestant members of the Council had absented themselves from its meetings about this time, probably from prudential motives; yet their colleagues took no advantage of this to silence Farel. To the complaint against his preaching in the church of Rive, the Council replied, "qu'il ne tient pas a nous qu'on ne cesse de le faire, mais plutôt a eux qui sont de Conseil et qui refusent d'y venir selon leur devoir" (Flournois, *Extraits*, March 6).

[98] Flournois, *Extraits*, March 2, 7, and 20; April 2.

[99] Flournois, *Registres*, March 6 and 17.

[100] Le Clerc, *Extraits des Registres*, March 30.

[101] Spanheim, 72, 73; Ruchat, v. 149, 216-222.

[102] Ruchat, v. 149-150.

[103] Le Clerc, *Extraits du Reg. Lat.*, Jan. 7, 1534. Andreas Gaillard faber ferrarius dixit, audivisse, etc. Comp. Flournois, *Extraits*.

[104] Flournois, *Extraits*, May 24, 1534. Le Clerc expressly says, "Le Conseil les jugeoit téméraires, sachons bien que les images ne devoyent pas demeurer en estre."

[105] Ruchat, v. 151.

[106] Flournois, *Extraits*.

[107] Ruchat, v. 214-216. Louis B. appears to have been a brother of James B., to be afterwards mentioned.—Vid. Flournois, *Extraits*, May 8, 1534.

[108] Le Clerc, *Extr.*, June 8 and July 20 and 24, 1534. Flournois, *Extr.*, of same dates. See his extract of July 24.

[109] *Registres*, Sept. 18, Oct. 1, Dec. 24, 1534; Ruchat, v. 225, 228, 235-237, 244.

[110] Ruchat, v. 253-256. The servant-maid who administered the poison accused a canon named Gonin or Hugonin D'Orsieres, his chaplain named Gardet, and his valet, of having bribed her to commit the crime (Flournois, *Remarq.*, April 15, 1533). D'Orsieres, who was of noble family in Geneva, was imprisoned but afterwards dismissed. Ruchat thinks the process against him was quashed from political considerations. Galiffe, on the contrary, says—"En 1535 le parti fanatique l'accusa d'avoir voulu faire empoisonner Farel et Viret, et cette odieuse calomnie a été repétée par les historiens quoiqu'il ait été reconnu innocent et acquitté" (*Notices Généal.*, i. 180). It appears, however, from the Registers that the sentence of acquittal was of a very qualified kind. After mentioning the oath of purgation, the sentence runs thus—"Jurato absolvatur, saltem nisi alia indicia contra eum resultent; quo tunc, novis repertis indiciis contra eum procedi potest." The same sentence was pronounced respecting Gardet (Flournois, *Remarq.*, Aug. 30, 1535; *sentence against Gonin D'Orsieres*).

[111] "Cependant le Conseil n'avoit pas encore voulu maintenir ouvertement les Prescheurs jusques au 3 Avril 1535, qu'il ordonna leur estre pourvuca de logis. Et le 13 de dit mois et fit faire crie des deffences publiquement de ne pas danser" (Roset, *Chroniq.*, livre iii. chap. 32). The following is the ordinance respecting dancing, to which Roset refers, "Danses en rond, etc." (Flournois, *Extraits*, April 13, 1535).

[112] See the sentence against a female named *Tout-ronde* in Flournois, *Extraits*, Feb. 14, 1535.

[113] Flournois, *Extraits*, April 2, 1535. On the 9th of that month is the following entry in the Register:—"*Pottie*, prestre refusant de faire le guet, et ayant dit 'Je vous verrois plutôt trestons crever que faire le guet,' Ordonne que M. le Lieutenant si informé et qu'il le mette en prison."

[114] *Registres*, May 7, 11; June 1, 21, 25; Aug. 16, 1535.

[115] The minute recording the first intimation of this fraud to the Council is very simply expressed, "qu'une certaine femmelette—retournée en vie." Roset is more minute in his details, "y avoit la de veilles matrones—sonnent les cloches."

[116] Flournois, *Extraits*, May 10 and Dec. 8, 1535; Roset, *Chroniq.*, livre iii. chap. 35, 50.

[117] Flournois, *Extraits*, Aug. 8, 1535; *Remarques*, July 3, 1535. The picture of Our Lady was publicly burnt at the door of the Council Chamber on the 31st of October. On the 17th of September, the Council had refused to destroy it, but this seems to have arisen from a wish not to offend the Duke, as it was the gift of Réné Bastard of Savoy. (Le Clerc, *Extraits*, Oct. 31, 1535.) The picture had the power of working miracles, on which account the "Caphards" (as Flournois called the Augustinian hermits) gave the name of Notre Dame de Grace to their convent. It was so beautiful (says the writer in his Remarks) that those who destroyed the images spared it, and the Council transferred it

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for safety to the town hall. This is scarcely consistent with his own account elsewhere.

118 "Du 18 Septembre, suivant, &c." Roset, *Chroniq.*, livre iii. chap. 37.

119 Flournois, *Extr.*, June 28, 1535.

120 Flournois, *Extr.*, July 23.

121 Spon, i. 256; Flournois, *Extraits*, July 30, 1535; Roset, *Chroniq.* livre iii. chap. 37.

122 Flournois, *Extr.*, Aug. 10, 1535; Spon, i. 257, 259.

123 Flournois, *Extr.*, Aug. 12; Ruchat, v. 298-300.

124 Ruchat, v. 300; Spanheim, 84, 85.

125 A painting of the virgin on the arch of St. Peter's remained until the middle of 17th century. (See its history in Alexandri Mori *Oratio de duobus Genevæ miraculis*, p. 16.)

126 Ruchat, v. 300-1.

127 Ruchat, v. 313-4; Spon, i. 261. The "Enfans de Chœur" were allowed at the request of the chapter, to retain their effects, and to carry them away along with their singing books. (Flournois, *Extr.*, Sept. 10.)

128 This request is inserted in old French in the Registers, though the rest of the minute is in Latin. (Le Clerc, *Extr.*, Aug. 25, 1535; comp. Flournois, *Extr.*, Aug. 25 and 27.)

129 Her name was Blasine Varambart, and she married M. Thomas Genod, an ecclesiastic belonging to the Church of St. Gervais, on the 23d of January 1536 (Flournois, *Remarq.*).

130 This is the account given by one of their own number, the Sœur de Jussie in a narrative of their *exodus* which she published under the name of "*Le Commencement de l'Heresie de Geneve*," of which Spon says, "it is written with all the naïveté and confusion which might be expected from a poor nun" (*Hist. de Genève*, i. 260).

131 Flournois, *Extraits*, Oct. 9, 1535. Le Clerc, *Ib.*

132 Flournois, *Extraits*, Aug. 27, Sept. 7 and 10, and Nov. 12. Le Clerc, Aug. 27; Roset, *Chroniq.* livre iii. chap. 44. There had been seven hospitals in the city during the times of Popery, and some wished that two should be preserved, but it was decided in the general council that they should be reduced to one. The reduction was laid hold of by the Roman Catholics of that day, to excite odium against the Reformation as drying up the sources of charity, and the Reformers defended themselves by saying that the wants of the poor would be more carefully attended to in one house placed under a vigilant and effective administration than they had been by the old system under which the funds served little other purpose than to feed the persons intrusted with their management. According to the modern ideas respecting pauperism, the reformed magistracy of Geneva would stand exposed to the charge of doing too much rather than too little for the poor, and of doing that at the expense of the ministers of religion.

[133] Flournois, *Extraits*, Nov. 12. As every one was pillaging the Convent de Palais the Council ordered everything belonging to it to be sold to the highest bidder, and it brought "322 ecus d'or Sol." On the same day "a sale of wine took place in the General Council, after the Lord's Prayer had been said" (*Ibid. Nov.* 14).

[134] Flournois, *Extr.*, Oct. 15.

[135] Flournois, *Extr.*, Nov. 12 and 29, Dec. 6; Roset, livre iii. chap. 44, 50.

[136] "Jaq. l'Hote prisonnier pour avoir celebrer la messe contre les defenses. On le libere en lui faisant de bonnes remonstrances, et on lui defend de ne se meler plus de cela" (Flournois, *Extr.*, Jan. 21 1536). "Pretres"—the Council decrees to call some priests before them who had been found marrying and baptizing. Dom. J. Manilier swears that he will baptize and marry no more (*Ibid.*, Feb. 23, 26, 1536). Three priests detained for saying mass contrary to orders are liberated and have their goods returned to them with the exception of their arms (*Ibid.*, May 10, 1536).

[137] Flournois, *Extr.*, Dec. 17, 1535, Jan. 10, 1536. At Easter 1536 Farel was gratified by the number of communicants (see extract from his letter to Fabri, 22d April 1536, in Ruchat, v. 642).

[138] Flournois, *Extraits*, Feb. 10, 1536. On the 31st of March the procureur of Vendouvres in the name of the whole parish petitioned for the use of their great clock, and that they might have one mass each Sunday, after which they were willing to go to the sermon. As the same request was made by other parishes, the Council resolved "that all the procurators and priests of the parishes (tous les procureurs des parroches, et tous les presbters) should attend on the following Monday to hear the Council's determination" (Flournois; comp. Le Clerc, Mar. 24).

[139] Meaning the inhabitants of Gex (says Flournois in his *Remarques*) who were now under the government of the Canton of Berne; "Messrs. de Berne n'interdirent la Messe qu'apres les disputes de Lausaune en Septembre 1536."

[140] Flournois, *Extr.*, April 3, 1536; Le Clerc, *ib.* Spon relates this affair in such a way as to throw odium on the Council. He puts into the mouth of the village priests a very enlightened and pathetic speech, representing the hardship of their being required to change so hastily a religion which the magistrates themselves had so recently professed. And he ascribes to Bonnivard the merit of inducing the Council, in opposition to Farel, to grant the delay requested by the priests (*Histoire*, tom. i. pp. 272-3). This representation is altogether unsupported by the *Registers*, or rather inconsistent with what they contain. And Flournois justly remarks that Bonnivard had not at this time the authority with the Council which Spon ascribes to him.

[141] Roset, in his *Chroniques* (livre iii. chap. 63), confounds this person with his brother Guy Furbity, the great opponent of the Reformation, who was still in prison for slandering the Bernese. His name often

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occurs in the *Registers* as interceding for the release of his brother. On the 5th of April, Guy Furbity, at the intercession of the King of France and the representation of his brother William, was brought before the Council, of whom he begged pardon with great readiness, adding, "Je vous promets que, d'icy en avant, je tâcherai a mieux vivre, et a precher la verité mieux que je n'ai faits; je vous prie, pardonnez moi." On this he was released (Flournois, *Extr.*). It is probable that Saunier's liberty was procured by that of Furbity (*Events of the Reform. arranged chronologically*, March 31, 1536; and Flournois, *Extr.*, April 23, 1536).

142 Flournois, *Extr.*, May 21, 1536.

143 Flournois, *Remarq.*

144 Flournois, *Extr. and Events chronologically, etc.*

145 Le Clerc, Jan. 17, 1533.

146 *Ibid.*, Aug. 27, 1535.

147 See Ruchat, v. 627, 642-647.

148 Flournois, *Extr.*, April 28, 1536.

149 *Ibid.*, May 19, June 13, 1536.

150 *Ibid.*, April 4, 1536.

151 "Predicant de Jussy—apres l'avoir ouy, on lui accorde des lettres qu'il puisse precher, battiser et epouser par tout le mandement." (Flournois, *Extr.*, March 10, 1536). Was this De la Mare?

152 "Predicans—on parle de leur entretien, et on ordonne qu'on les nourrira, vestira et ententretiendra sur les biens des eglises paroissales, tant de la ville que de nos terres." (Flournois, *Extr.*, May 18, 1536.) As to the previous sustenance of Farel and Bonnivard, see *ibid.* April 7. See also June 16, 1536.

153 Flournois, *Extr.*, June 13, 1536, and June 4, 1537.

154 Flournois, *Extr.*, Feb. 21, 1538. At Farel's suggestion a sermon was appointed to be preached at six in the morning, that the members of the Council might attend it before their meeting at seven (*Ibid.*, Sept. 8, 1536).

155 Flournois, *Extr.*, Feb. 28, March 10, Dec. 5, 1536.

156 *Ibid.*, Aug. 8.

157 After making him a burgess, the Council gave him 200 crowns a year, and a house to belong to him and his legitimate children; but it is added in the *Register:* "Nota quod conditio additur, quamdiu infra civitatem honeste vixerit, et non alias." (Le Clerc, *Extr.*, Sept. 4, 1536.) "On repondit à une lettre de S. Bonnivard, cydevant prieur de St. Victor, que les chemins estayent ouverts a tous les gens de bien." (Flournois, *Extr.*, Nov. 9. 1537.)

158 These words are written and signed by the hand of Balard in the original Register, July 24, 1536.

159 Flournois, *Extr.*, July 24, Aug. 15; and *Remarques.*

160 Roset, iv. 1.: Flournois, *Extr.*, Sept. 4, 1536.

CHAPTER IV.

GENEVA, 1536.

SUCH was the state of matters in Geneva when Calvin took up his residence in it. The Reformation had supplanted the ancient religion, and was established by law. But the new church was not organised. Its worship was conducted agreeably to Scripture, but no regular discipline had been settled in it. The great body of the inhabitants were favourable to the change which had taken place, but many of them were imperfectly instructed, and not a few were known to be attached on various grounds to Popery, and ready to embrace the first opportunity which offered to endeavour its restoration.

Calvin's first employment was to deliver a course of lectures on theology, which he began to read in the Cathedral in the month of August. This he undertook at the desire of Farel and the other ministers; but in the following month it was approved of by the Council, who agreed to support him, without, however, specifying any fixed salary.[1] Soon after he began to preach, and was admitted one of the stated pastors of the city.[2]

Farel had at this time the chief direction of ecclesiastical matters, and all the intercourse between the ministers and the civic authorities was

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carried on through him. On the 10th of November, he laid before the ordinary Council articles for the government of the Church, which were approved of, first by them, and afterwards by the Council of Two Hundred. They provided, among other things, that the Lord's Supper should be celebrated four times a year; that baptism should be dispensed on any day when there was a public congregation; and that marriages should also be celebrated in public after the proclamation of banns on three several Sabbaths. At the same time it was agreed that provision should be made for ministers; that all shops should be shut on Sabbath during sermon; that images remaining in the churches should be taken down; and that whoredom and gaming should be punished.[3] The reputation of Farel was at this time at its zenith, and his admonitions to the Council are repeatedly characterised in the registers as "divine."[4]

When the Reformed Church of Geneva was in this imperfect state of organisation, and remained still exposed to attacks from the adherents of the old faith, she was assailed by adversaries of an opposite description. Soon after Luther had declared against the Church of Rome, a number of persons appeared in Germany, who blamed his reformation as radically defective, and professed to seek for a state of things vastly purer and more spiritual. As they were generally weak and unlearned men, who seemed to be under the influence of a heated imagination, they were not at first much regarded by the Reformers, who endeavoured by private admonitions to correct the mistakes under which they laboured, and check their extravagances.

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But their appearances of piety and pretensions to a prophetic spirit imposed upon some individuals of note, and, the minds of men being in that state which exposes them to religious infection, they within a short time made numerous converts in various parts of Germany, from which they spread into Switzerland. The adherents of the new sect were called Anabaptists, from their practice of re-baptizing those who had received the initiatory rite of Christianity in their infancy. The radical tenet, or fountain-error of this sect, was that the Christian Church should be composed of true saints only, that all who do not give positive evidence of their possessing this character should be refused admission to its privileges, or if already admitted, should be ejected by excommunication: and that it is sinful to hold communion with churches or societies not constituted after this pattern. Accordingly, they looked on ancient Israel, not as a church, but as a carnal and worldly community; and superseding the authority of the Old Testament Scriptures, they confined themselves to those of the New, as their rule in all matters of faith and practice. In this way they were led to deny the lawfulness of infant baptism, national churches, oaths, and defensive war, to hold that Christians could not lawfully act as civil magistrates, and were not bound to pay taxes or tithes; and to plead for a community of goods. Being destitute of any external bond of union to serve as a check on novelties, a variety of strange doctrines, besides those which characterised the sect, prevailed among its members, consisting chiefly of old heresies resuscitated; and the anti-trinitarian tenets, before these were reduced to their

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modern shape by Socinus, had found shelter under the fostering wing of anabaptism. The system, if it is entitled to this name, was a compound of heresy and fanaticism; it was the mysticism of the middle ages, impregnated by the spirit of active reform and daring inquiry, which the transactions of the sixteenth century had evoked. Its adherents depreciated human learning, and decried the Reformed ministers, especially when opposed by them, as book-taught and mercenary teachers; and the leaders, by boasting of immediate revelations and visions, pushed their followers to various excesses, which subjected them to proscription, and in some instances to heavier penalties, from the civil authorities. Impartiality requires us to state that there were circumstances connected with the Protestant churches which proved a stumbling-block to these sectaries, and counteracted the means used for their recovery. As the bondage under which the common people were then held, and the heavy exactions which their princes levied upon them, were a principal cause of the insurrectionary war of the boors in Germany, so the aversion of Luther to remove a number of Popish abuses, such as the withholding of the cup from the laity, and the use of images, together with the imperfect organisation of the churches formed under his direction, contributed greatly to the spread of anabaptism. Nor were there wanting grounds of offence in some of the Reformed churches in Switzerland; Zuingle having unhappily adopted the opinion that ecclesiastical discipline, including excommunication, was unnecessary under a Christian magistrate. For history has shown, that it is not religious liberty so

much as the neglect of ecclesiastical discipline and promiscuous admission to the seals of the new covenant in established churches, which has led to the increase of the tenets classed by divines under the common name of sectarianism.

[*Dr. M'Crie's MS. ends abruptly here.*]

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV.

[1] "Magister Guil. Farellus exponit sicuti sit necessaria illa lectura quam initiavit ille Gallus in Sto. Petro. Propterea supplicat advideri de ipso retinendo et sibi alimentando. Super quo fuit advisum quod advideatur de ipsum substinendo" (Le Clerc, *Extr. des Reg.*, Sept. 5, 1536). This is the first reference to Calvin in the Registers, and so little was he known at this time that the secretary seems to have been ignorant of his name. There is no more reference to him during this year, but his name occurs often in the minutes of the following year. He is generally called *Cauvin*. On the 13th of February 1537, though the Register was then kept in French, he is called *Calvinus;* on the 13th of March of that year he is called "Cauvin c'est a dire Calvini," and in January and February 1538 *Caulvin.*

[2] On the 13th March 1537, Farel and Calvin gave in a representation to the Council concerning the celebration of the supper. (Flournois, *Extraits.*)

[3] Flournois, *Extraits*, 10th Nov., 5th Dec. 1536, and 15th and 16th January 1537.

[4] "G. Farellus instat et admonet et dat admonitionem scripto. Super quo fuit arrestatum cum scripta dicti D. Guillelmi sint tam divina quod habeatur sermo matutinus statim post sextam horam de mane in ecclesia St. Germani" (Le Clerc, *Extraits*, Sept. 8, 1536). This was intended to allow the members of Council (which met at 7 A.M.) to attend. "Farellus divinas fecit demonstrationes" occurs in the minute of January 6, 1536. "Detur Magistro Guill. Farello unum dolium (*tun*) vini albi de Paradys" (*Ib.*, Sept. 15, 1536). Le Clerc adds in a note, "C'estoit une vigne à Vendouvre des biens de l'Eglise située en un bien dit Paradis." (See the minute conferring the right of burgess-ship on Farel and his brothers in Flournois, *Extraits*, March 9, 1537; comp. Feb. 14.)

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